

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF SOCIAL WORK

SELECTED PAPERS
SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
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FOREWORD

THE *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work present each year a cross-section picture of events, developments, and thinking in respect to American social work. This year, for the first time since 1918, the United States is again engaged in war, and the contents of the present volume have a deeper significance because of the crucial and tragic background of national and world events against which these papers have been presented.

This volume of the *Proceedings* contains 51 papers out of the 122 which were presented at the sixty-ninth annual meeting of the Conference in New Orleans, in May 1942. The selection of these papers was made by the Conference Editorial Committee, consisting of Edwin Eells (Chicago), Cordelia Trimble (Madison, Wisconsin), and Arthur Dunham (Ann Arbor, Michigan), chairman; and including as *ex officio* members the President of the Conference, Shelby M. Harrison, and the General Secretary of the Conference and Editor of the *Proceedings*, Howard R. Knight.

The Editorial Committee reviewed all manuscripts submitted for publication by the authors which had been presented at the general sessions, section meetings, and special committee meetings of the Conference. In accordance with Conference policy, dictated by the necessity of keeping the *Proceedings* within a single volume of usable size, papers read before associate groups affiliated with the Conference were not eligible for publication.

This year Section II, Social Group Work, experimented in its program building and the method by which the material from these meetings was submitted to the Editorial Committee. The six meetings were planned as a whole with two formal papers presented at the first and last meetings, respectively. On the intervening days the Section was divided into groups for the discussion of case material prepared beforehand by study committees

in various parts of the country. Subsequent to the Conference a section editorial committee prepared a single manuscript summarizing both the formal papers and the discussion.

Value for permanent reference purposes, as well as for more immediate use, has been the guiding principle in the selection of papers for publication. Newness, pertinence, and timeliness of material, authenticity, historical and current significance, and practical value to social workers have all entered into the Committee's evaluation of the manuscripts considered. The omission of a manuscript is in no sense a reflection upon its value as a part of the Conference program.

The Conference, throughout its sixty-eight years of life, has been an open forum for free discussion of social welfare problems, not a body engaged in social action. The opinions expressed in these pages are therefore those of the authors alone. Publication of a paper does not imply endorsement, and exclusion does not imply lack of endorsement, by either the Conference or the Editorial Committee.

Following the custom of recent years, the contents of this volume have been arranged under topics of reader interest rather than in the order or under the headings of the Conference program. In the Appendixes, however, the program is printed in full, together with the minutes of the Conference business sessions, the text of the Constitution and By-Laws, and author and subject indexes.

The Editorial Committee expresses its gratitude to all the authors who submitted their manuscripts for consideration, to the section and committee chairmen who assisted in the evaluation of papers, and to Mrs. W. Burton Swart, of Columbia University Press, who for the second time ably discharged the highly responsible editorial task of preparing the manuscripts in final form for publication.

ARTHUR DUNHAM

Chairman, Editorial Committee

*Ann Arbor, Michigan
October 1, 1942*

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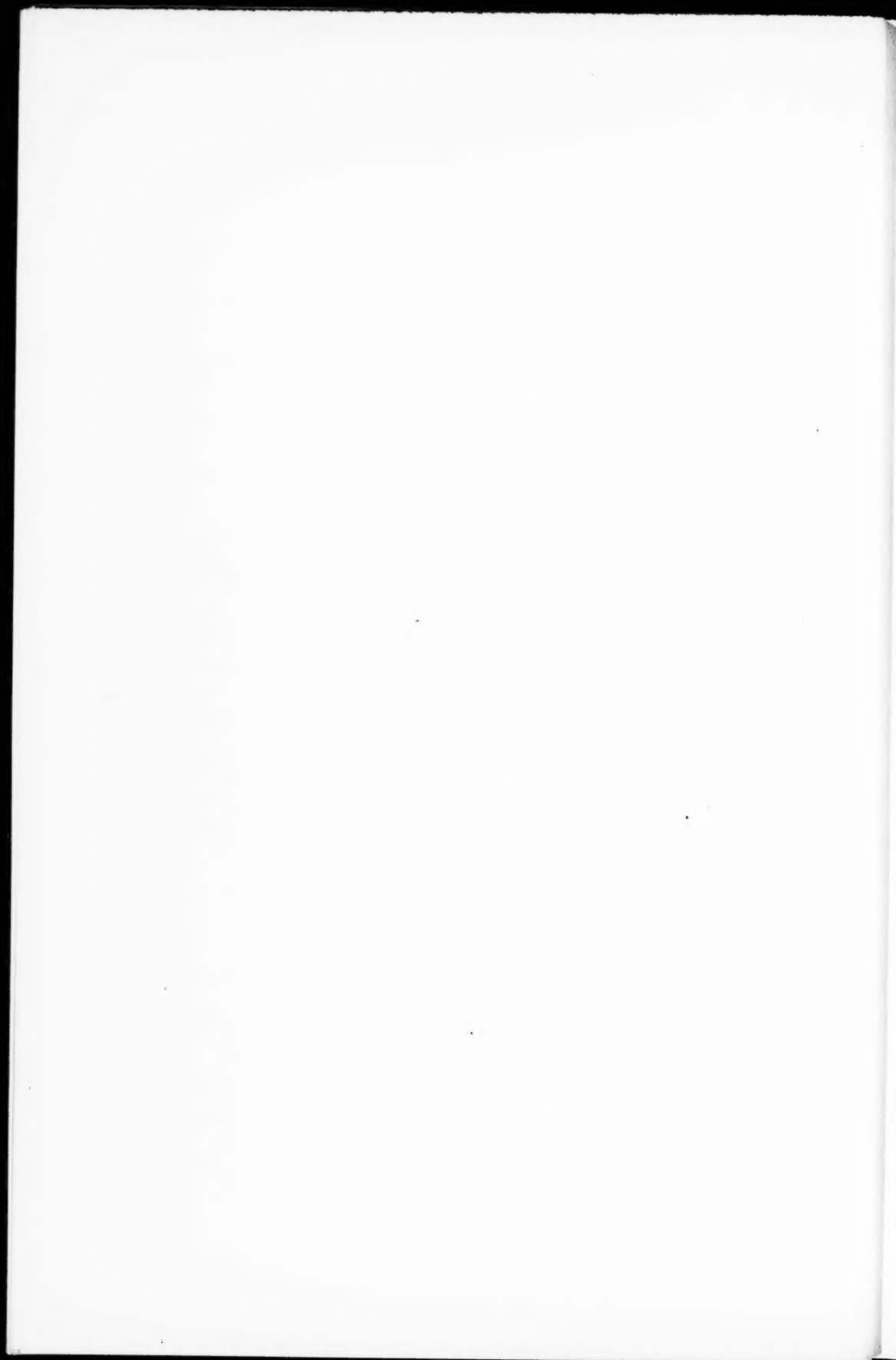
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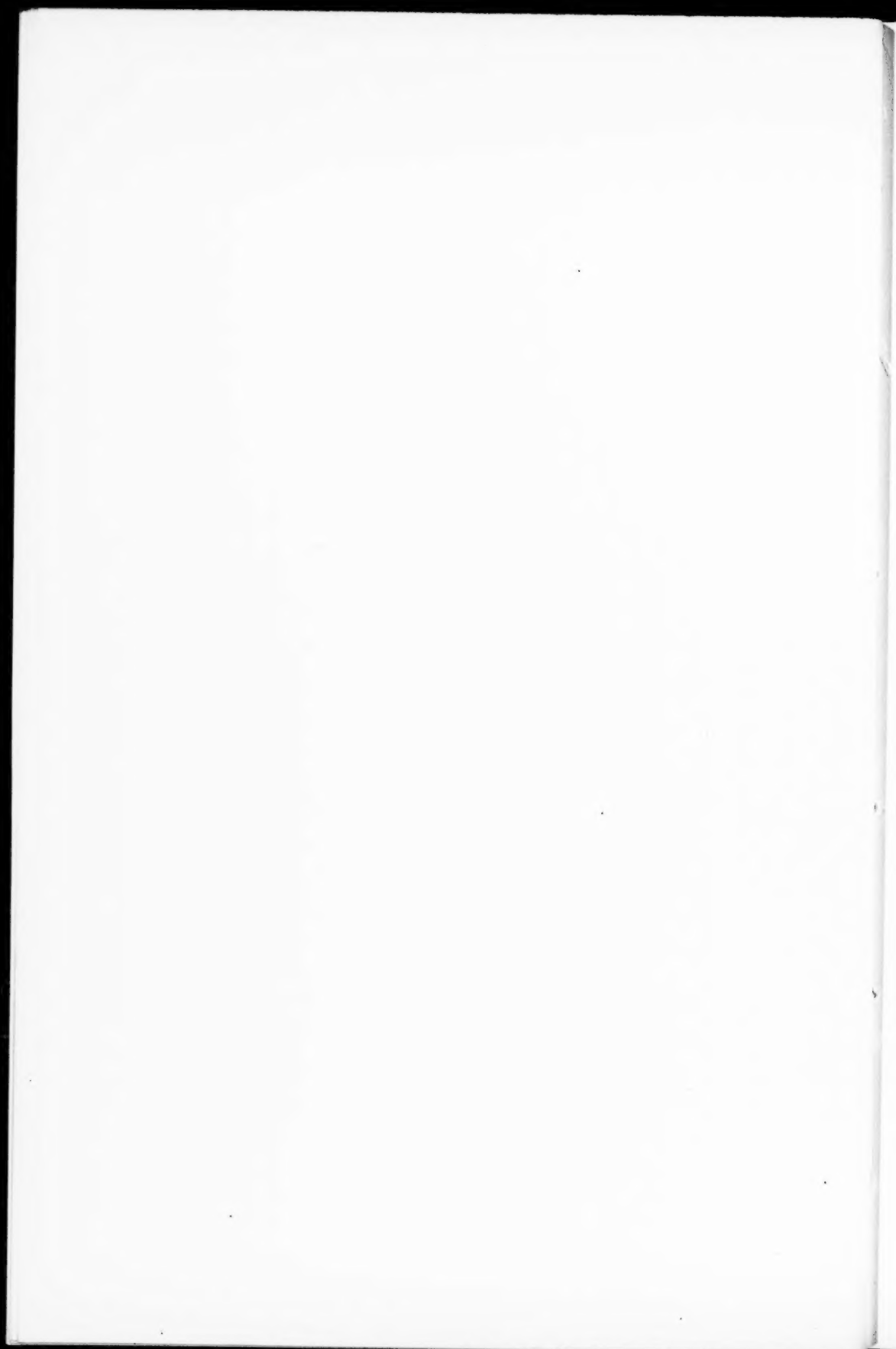
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PART ONE

WAR CHALLENGES SOCIAL WORK



ATTACKING ON SOCIAL WORK'S THREE FRONTS

By *SHELBY M. HARRISON*

TWO YEARS AGO the National Conference of Social Work met in the week when the Belgian army surrendered, Britain faced Dunkirk, and the fall of France was appearing tragically inevitable. That was a black week. Today we face a situation which may seem even darker and more desperate. For in these two years the war has spread to every continent, and today 90 percent of all the men, women, and children in this whole world are in countries actively at war or already conquered. The tide of disaster has been running heavy and grim in these two years. France fell. Britain continued to resist, but suffered terrific punishment. After little Greece had set Italy back on her heels, the Nazi juggernaut rolled through the Balkans and down into Crete. Today only the stouthearted Yugoslavs fight on in their mountains. Then came the sudden invasion of the Soviet Union. This attack may prove to have been Hitler's costliest mistake, but in spite of the superb courage and the demonstrated striking power of the Soviet armies, portions of western Russia which are an empire in extent—a scorched empire, be it said—are under the heel of the foe.

Last December the unprovoked and murderous attack on Pearl Harbor catapulted us into this conflict. Despite heroic stands, much has been lost—Bataan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Java, most of Burma. The long distances have so far prevented us from balancing the odds in men and equipment, but we are now gaining striking power. Though we have no doubt of the ultimate

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outcome, we are now ourselves involved in this deadly business, our own blood in the front lines, our nation and our way of life in the balance of war's events.

If this war were merely a military struggle, it would concern us less. But, however diverse and remote have been some of the factors which brought it on, the war has now crystallized into a titanic struggle between two ideologies—two ways of life which cannot both survive in this cramped world.

One is the philosophy of force, which ruthlessly crushes into the mire the hard-won freedoms of the human spirit, persecutes the weak, betrays the unsuspecting, fans race hatreds, proudly boasts of its use of book-burnings, censorship, and brazen lying as instruments of public policy. It scorns the forms of government to which we have given our allegiance. In a public speech in 1938 the Italian dictator declared, "Liberty is a putrid corpse. Democracy is decadent. We are entering the fascist era." One wonders whether Mussolini is quite so happy today over the results of fascism as they are affecting his own country, or quite so certain that the "corpse" is without striking power.

We on the other side hold different principles altogether. We believe in the fullest possible freedom for the individual, in government by consent and consultation in the parliamentary form, in the educational method of "change and progress through evolution"; we believe—to paraphrase Pearl Buck—in a single human race, working together to make a fit habitation out of this now tragic globe.

These convictions must mean more than words to us today. The issue is clear, and so also is the call to action. Citizens everywhere throughout our nation, and social workers by the tens of thousands, have shown by their deeds that they recognize in this threat to civilization their own tremendous stake and their personal responsibility.

Social work is responding by attacking along three main fronts. If I sense at all the spirit of this Conference, it is a spirit which sees in your experience and equipment special opportunities to serve in these dark days, a spirit of devotion and resourcefulness in emergency, a resolute desire *to attack*.

Social work's first front in these times is its direct service in the immediate war program—activities related directly to the requirements of the war effort. Whether or not this will be its most important contribution through these years, only history can finally say. It is at least the most dramatic front of the three.

War on the scale on which it is now being waged requires tremendous man power, prodigious production, and vast rearrangements in the patterns of personal and community living. Foremost, of course, are the military forces trained for combat service on land, on sea, and in the air. Back of them is the service of production—the much larger army of industrial managers and workers laboring on triple-shift schedules to produce guns, tanks, ships, planes. Then transportation, agriculture, finance, the supporting community, all have their vital parts to play. As a recent editorial in the *New York Times* says: "We must close our ranks and go forward. For one lost soldier, a thousand recruits must drill, ten thousand civilians fabricate the means of victory, other thousands cheerfully face the sacrifice of luxuries and comforts."

These rapidly expanded, drastically altered, intensely taxing services have placed new and important responsibilities upon what we broadly call social work. These responsibilities vary in each community, and it would not be possible to catalogue them all.

Services centering about the soldier himself and his family have enlisted much social work effort. These begin with assistance to Selective Service boards, the Army, Navy, or other agencies in determining facts about dependency. The men who have been rejected for physical defects—their number is a significant commentary upon the standards of living we have tolerated in this presumably wealthy country—these men are a great challenge to the profession of medicine and to social work, both to recover as many of them as possible for active and efficient service, and to safeguard the generation now growing to manhood and womanhood from similar remediable defects.

If the soldier is accepted, he soon comes to need many special services—friendly counseling, recreational facilities in camp and out, sometimes legal advice, and much else. The American Red

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Cross, the United Service Organizations, local recreation workers, and others in camps and near-by communities are serving in these fields. For the peace of mind of the soldier, quite as much as for other reasons, we need to see that his dependents are well cared for. Such dependents, who will become much more numerous as mobilization continues, may need assistance in obtaining their special benefits and allowances, may need advice as to their rights under the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, the National Life Insurance Act, and other legislation designed for protection of the soldier and his family, and in some cases may need direct aid in emergencies. Social work should lead the attack in this field of its special competence. I observe with some concern a mushroom growth of private organizations intending to function in these areas. Some may be necessary and important; others are well intentioned but ill equipped; one suspects that still others are trading upon public sympathy for their own private gain.

Then we must not forget, though it distresses us, special services for the maimed and injured as they begin to return from the battlefields, and for the dependents of those who will not return. Plans for rehabilitation, for the care of special injuries, for sheltered workshops, and recreational facilities, are under way.

In addition to duties that center upon the soldier and his family are those of preparing against bombing or other enemy action in our civilian centers. Social workers, in coöperation with civil and military leaders, are assisting in these plans. William Hodson, Welfare Commissioner for New York City, described recently how his department, with its special experience in mass feeding, group shelter, and resettlement of families, was set up for possible emergency in coöperation with the local chapter of the American Red Cross, the local U.S.O. units, and other private agencies working with the Welfare Council. More extensive plans, for the possible evacuation of civilians from combat areas, and for their reception in safety zones, are being widely discussed among social work executives, although actual crystallization of these plans is lagging. Continental United States has so far not faced these emergencies in actuality, and we hope they may not

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come. But if come they do, social workers will be in the front lines of emergency service.

The war-disorganized community is another sector of this first front for social workers. How severe this disorganization may be is apparent to even the casual visitor to a camp town, an armament-making city, or an airplane manufacturing center. The myriad problems which such rapidly expanding communities exhibit are fitter subject for a nightmare than orderly presentation.

For the boom town, housing may often be the most critical problem, requiring both bold housing and city planning. If anyone is thinking of housing as a frill and not a direct factor in war production, let him look at the record during the last war. The Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland, was equipped to produce nearly two ships more a month than it did build—because of lack of living quarters for the additional 2,500 men needed. The United States Department of Labor, trying to place women workers where there were urgent war orders, reported that fully 50 percent refused to take jobs because of bad housing conditions.

Boom towns require not merely additional housing, and special new facilities of all sorts—recreation, transportation, sanitation, schools, water supply—for the new residents, but often protection for old-time residents against boom-inflated prices, new health hazards, and other disrupting influences.

The opposite of the boom may also occur, as in the considerable change-over unemployment in the Detroit area and, on a smaller scale, the priorities unemployment and other industrial dislocations which are affecting many communities. With the increasing employment of women, facilities for the day care of children will have to be vastly expanded and improved. And it requires no major prophet to predict that breakdown of family life caused by war service or the conditions of war employment is going to result in serious delinquency problems for many communities, unless they are forehanded with a positive, constructive program for their youth.

The alien family is also a war-induced problem social workers need to attack in many communities. The most striking example

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is, of course, the wholesale evacuation of the Japanese from the coastal danger points and their resettlement, but few communities escape all contact with this problem. Discrimination against aliens does not stop with those actually opposing or subverting our institutions; it shows signs of going on to embrace law-abiding aliens of enemy nationality and even citizens of noncombatant or allied nations. As the war spirit grows, we may need sane leadership to avoid the witch-hunts, persecutions, and violations of civil liberties which occurred too frequently in 1917-18.

Social work is equipped to attack effectively on each of these sectors of our first wartime front—services for the soldier and his family, stand-by service in case of enemy action, and help to the disorganized community. All these things are worth doing for their own sake, but all of them together contribute importantly to a great wartime necessity—morale.

Says Dr. Willard Waller, one of our leading sociologists, in an unpublished manuscript: "It may seem at first that morale is outside the field of social work, but this is not so. Morale is really a result of social justice, and in the long run social workers can do more with it than orators and propagandists can, for all their circus tricks."

Social work's second front against the enemies of freedom is the day-by-day performance of social work's essential duties. Less spectacular than the other fronts, this one requires the greatest man power—or perhaps I should say woman power. In the long view, it may prove to have made the greatest contribution of the three toward actual winning of the war. It is an essential part of the long supply line upon which the various front lines must depend.

It would be a poor service to the war effort to send all our physicians abroad with the troops. England, out of her longer experience, has found it necessary not only to maintain, but to strengthen many of the home social services in such fields as health and medicine, nutrition, recreation, day nurseries, maternity homes, social security, education, and social welfare.

If these services are to be rendered, not as mere routine, but in the spirit of attack, as an essential contribution to America at

war, we may need to pause a moment for our bearings. Just what are the concepts which motivate social work, the eternal values upon which it is built? And by what means—techniques, if you will—are these concepts clothed with reality?

In his long dwelling on this earth, man has been weaving a tapestry of history. It has many curious and erratic designs, and is full of wars and bloodshed and selfish action. But again and again we come upon a continuing golden thread; this golden thread is the expression in every age of the infinite value of the individual human being, echoed in the words of philosophers, prophets, and poets, and in the deeds of many humbler men and women.

Hear its echoes in the Mahabharata of ancient India: "To you I declare the holy mystery: there is nothing nobler than humanity." Or from Jehovah as interpreted by Moses in Leviticus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. I am Jehovah." Or from Menander, 300 years before Christ: "To live is not to live for one's self alone; let us help one another." Or Seneca, that old Roman: "*Ubi cumque homo est, ibi beneficio locus est*—Wherever there is a human being, there is an opportunity for a kindness." Or Epictetus: "The universe is but one great city, full of beloved ones, divine and human, by nature endeared to each other."

Hear the great Founder of Christianity: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." Or the comment of Tryon Edwards, "Whoever in prayer can say, 'Our Father,' acknowledges and should feel the brotherhood of the whole race of mankind." Or Amiel: "The test of every religious, political, or educational system is the man that it forms." Or as still someone else has put it, "Humanity is the religion of the poor." This love of humanity probably has nowhere been more perfectly expressed than in the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Hear Walt Whitman singing in "Passage to India": "Lo, soul, seest thou not God's purpose from the first? The earth to be spanned. . . . The people to become brothers and sisters. . . . The lands to be welded together."

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These, and the countless words like them, and the deeds done in their spirit, strike a responding chord in our hearts. We vibrate to the same note because it is a part of the universal harmony, and it rings true.

What has social work to do with this high faith in humanity, with its corollary of the privilege of service even to the humblest? Social work is the modern implementation of this faith, the modern agency for transmuting this faith into works. It endeavors to apply to the art of helping our fellow man, not merely good intentions and unselfish effort, but all the skill and special knowledge which modern science can supply. It is a discipline which seeks to serve the poor, the misguided, the undefended, the sick, the imprisoned, the crippled in mind and body, the jobless, the illiterate, the maladjusted, the misunderstood, and all the rest.

I shall not insist, nor would I faintly imply, that social work is the only channel by which concern for our fellow man can be transmuted into useful works. But I think that we who are social workers need to look back, each of us, beyond our daily and often dull routine to the faith that we individually hold, whether it springs from religious conviction or from a secular love of human beings. Only so can we see clearly that the eternal values from which our actions spring are the very opposite of the Nazi philosophy of a superior caste or state for which the individual must be sacrificed; of might makes right. Only so can we perform our often humdrum duties with the high spirit which will make them effective measures of attack upon fascist forces at work in our own land.

Let us not forget, also, that social work stresses that word "work." It implies not only high sentiments, lofty ideals, but deeds. Through its developing history it has striven to find and use practical means for giving every individual his chance in life. It is a tool, designed with all the experience and science we know, for implementing the religious and humanitarian impulse toward human brotherhood for practical achievement.

Some people suppose that social work is primarily concerned with giving relief—an activity which did indeed assume vast pro-

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portions in the depression decade. We gave relief, through both the private and the public agencies, but as part of a much larger plan. Even in its earlier days social work assumed some leadership in reform movements, aimed, on the one hand, at reducing and preventing human misery, and on the other, toward securing more of the good things of life for the people as a whole. More recently it has recognized the responsibility, not only for crusading for higher social ideals, but for developing in pursuit of those ideals "a scientific foundation and a trained capacity for efficient practice."

Professional schools were seen as a requisite for attaining high standards in practice. The first full-term schools were established in 1904. By 1910 there were five such schools. At present, thirty-nine schools are on the approved list of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, of which thirty-four offer two years of graduate work and five offer a one-year graduate curriculum. In addition there are a large number of unapproved schools of social work, several of which have already made or will soon make application for membership in the Association. In comparison with other types of professional education, the graduate status of the approved schools in social work ranks high. Engineering education is predominantly on the undergraduate level. In medicine, although some 80 percent of medical students are college graduates, only five out of seventy-seven medical schools in 1940-41 required the bachelor's degree for admission; one required four years of college; sixty-three would admit students after three years of college; and eight required only two years.

The programs of study in schools of social work have steadily broadened. Today the majority of approved schools offer courses in most or all of the following subjects: (1) social case work; (2) medical and psychiatric information; (3) community organization; (4) social research; (5) social group work; (6) public welfare; (7) law and social work; (8) industrial relations or labor problems; and (9) social insurance. Increasingly the schools are interesting themselves in courses in supervision of social work, health services, housing, and social work interpretation or public rela-

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tions, while much needed preparation for the administrative level of social work is beginning to engage attention.

I have made this brief reference to social work education partly to suggest how seriously leaders in the profession have taken the matter of implementing this eternal and humane instinct for service to their fellow men; but also to show something of the content of this thing we call social work. Expressed in the form of continuing social services within our communities, the list becomes long indeed, and to the uninitiated it may sound confusing. Such a list would include the work of the family welfare society, which seeks to discover the immediate causes of family disabilities and, by removing or overcoming them, to put the family back on a basis of normal living; the social settlement, where residents and staff, coöperating in social and educational programs with less favored groups, seek to help them raise the general level of family environment; agencies specializing in adult education, supplementing inadequate training in youth and seeking to help alien and immigrant groups to adjust their lives to the opportunities and the duties of a new land; governmental and private organizations interested in the care and treatment of defectives and delinquents; agencies for child welfare, mental hygiene, better housing, industrial safety and sanitation, social hygiene, and public health; associations dealing with probation, parole, juvenile offenders, recreation, old age and other dependency; and societies organized to promote general social betterment throughout neighborhood and community.

This list is by no means exhaustive. Mere mention of some of these activities, however, does suggest the breadth of this second front for social work—its day-by-day activities. It suggests more than the breadth of these activities: it makes it plain that most of social work is sound and valid all the time—in war or peace; that, because of its deep-rooted basis in humane aspirations and its serious intent to grow and to improve its service, social work is an essential and indispensable element in modern civilized society.

Social work and democratic institutions have long had in common one basic doctrine: the recognition of the supreme value of the individual human being, great or small, with its corollary of

a common obligation to work for his welfare, which in its total is the general social welfare. Social work is one of the chief instruments through which this democratic purpose is clothed in reality for many of the flesh-and-blood men and women who live in this country of ours. I hope we may be pardoned for accepting the characterization of social work recently given in a New York speech by the Hon. Noel Hall, British Minister at Washington, when he referred to it as "your priceless social services."

That is why I speak of social work's going operations in terms of attack on an important front. We are not here to defend any branch of social work or any vested interest in it; some may deserve to be abandoned, others need expansion. We *are* here to weld social work into an effective instrument for making our nation strong.

We are proud that social work has always been one of the handmaids of democracy, rooted deep in that respect for the personality of each human being which free governments alone are designed to nurture and defend. We are determined that in these days of war, which call for not merely the loyal, but the efficient service of every citizen, social work shall perform a greater service than ever before in freeing the handicapped and the disadvantaged from their disabilities, in opening gates of opportunity for those who need guidance and help, and in assuring at least the essentials of healthful, normal living to every family in the land.

The third front of our nation's attack—a front, again, on which I believe social work has contributions to make is the whole broad field of postwar reconstruction.

"But," you say, "we have a war on our hands. This is not a time for finespun social theories, or even attempts at social changes which in peace would seem important. Our first job is to win the war."

Precisely.

It is in order to win this war that we must set before ourselves, before the conquered and enslaved nations, and so far as may be before the peoples in the nations with which we are at war, a clear picture of the world the democracies are striving to defend and to bring into being. As one of our well-known journalists has de-

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clared, "Whatever nation, or alliance of nations, can first offer the peoples of the world a solution of their problems . . . will win the war."

Many of us remember, too, the last war and its disastrous aftermath. However desperately we need to win this war, we need even more desperately to win the peace—a phrase by which people mean assuring a sound, just, and durable peace, with all its implications for social and economic conditions worth fighting for. Social work, with its ultimate concern for man and his fate, can and should speak out aggressively for the needs of man, and the means for meeting them.

I do not know when this war will end; in these overcast days, to hope for any early victory seems optimistic indeed. But in the nature of all-out war of the Nazi pattern, the end when it comes may come very suddenly. Listen to these words from another president of this Conference, Robert A. Woods: "In this great and terrible day, at what seems more nearly the crisis of the world than any other moment in history, the National Conference of Social Work seeks to gather all the resources that it can represent for their maximum contribution."

Those words were spoken on a dark day of the First World War, when the spring German drive was cutting deep into the lines of the exhausted French and British; Paris was under direct shell fire, and our own soldiers under General Pershing were only beginning to arrive in numbers; the day, in fact, was in May, 1918. Six months later, almost to the day, that war ended in the fatal armistice, when all the nations including our own relaxed in a delirium of joy and relief and let slip the opportunity to establish a stable peace.

We should not delay. Adolf Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, said earlier this year, "The very sinew of our war effort will be affected by the goals we see ahead." Both to strengthen our war effort and to make a stable peace possible, we need now to assess more adequately than ever before the underlying world problems which lead to war and start work upon solutions which will be sound, just, and enduring, in the interests of all peoples of every creed, color, and race—whether they be Mexican workers in our

own Southwest, or their kinsmen across the border, the West Indian, the East Indian, the North American Indian, the Negro, or the members of any other minority group round the globe. We repudiate the Nazi doctrine, which has no support in science or experience, of a naturally superior race.

Our efforts must be a continuous process. What we are going to be, we are now becoming. We need, not only to save from the threatening disaster our democratic institutions and services, but to keep on shaping them for greater usefulness in the peacetime ahead. This process has also its morale value. As an editorial in the *New York Times* put it, "If we of the United Nations win, [the pen of history] will say that we did so because our will to win was greater; and that our will to win was greater because we fought for reasons that the average free man was glad to accept as his own."

Yes, the first job is to win the war. All the future depends on that. There is no disposition to overlook its transcendent importance. But among thoughtful people here, and among our allies, the conviction is widespread that planning for the future world at peace must not be left as a postwar task. It should be carried on now. Fortunately, something is astir.

To my desk has recently come a volume of 158 pages in which Dr. George B. Galloway presents a report for the Twentieth Century Fund on the research plans now being developed in the United States to deal with the economic and social problems which will face us when the war ends. He finds 112 agencies involved. While much of the discussion of plans is still vague and general, it is significant that so many agencies are already focusing their thoughts on postwar problems and attempting to do something about them.

This is not the occasion to attempt a detailed set of suggestions for a postwar program. That may best await the results of these hundred and more ventures in research for the postwar era. One may nevertheless indulge, perhaps, in a few convictions which are hardly any longer to be regarded as personal—convictions which have the backing of impressive congresses of churchmen on both sides of the Atlantic, of leading educators, of government officials,

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leaders in the labor movement, civic leaders, and social workers in many types of endeavor. First among these convictions is this, that the postwar world must solve the twin scourges of war and unemployment.

In diametric opposition to the Nazi doctrine that international justice depends on the use of force and a nation's main objective must be to assert its dominance, we look forward to an organized effort on the part of the victorious democracies which will, as David Cushman Coyle puts it, "show that they care about the fate of all men everywhere, and that they are always studying ways to improve world prosperity and world harmony." With a resolute determination to help reduce the likelihood of war, America must not again shun a place of leadership and responsibility in organized world efforts to promote economic justice on a world scale.

Although war demands have greatly reduced unemployment, the problem has not been permanently solved. The loss of income to millions of workers, with the disorganization of family life, demoralization of the individuals concerned, to say nothing of the reduced production which affects the living standard of us all, will again appear as a problem of large proportions unless the wisest kind of effort is made early to do something about it. We have learned from the hard taskmaster of war that we can have full employment and even a measure of prosperity in such days as these. Our people begin to know that American inventive genius and industrial skill have now solved, for this country at least, the ancient problem of production—of producing enough goods in mine and quarry, field and farm, factory and foundry, to meet a reasonable minimum living standard for all. That nation moves on a dangerous path which, when the war ends, fails to find with reasonable promptness a way to continue this productive employment and to bring this improved standard to its people.

For this, relief is not the answer. Important and necessary as relief sometimes is, we all would prefer to have, and to see other people have, real jobs, productive jobs, instead of relief on the most liberal basis. Everything possible must first be done to pro-

vide jobs at living wages; after that, adequate relief is indicated for the destitute unemployables and also for the able-bodied, despite the threadbare objection about people who do not want work. True, a small percentage really don't want work; for always a small proportion of persons in the whole population are sick physically, mentally, or morally and either cannot or will not do their part in the community. We have to accept that, and deal with it as a part of the whole problem.

Beyond the background problems of peace and employment are the minimum standards we need to establish. In a book shortly to be published under the title *Goals for America*, Stuart Chase calls food, clothing, shelter, health service (including recreation), and education the Big Five among these standards, and declares that in postwar America definite allotments in all these five essentials can and should be guaranteed to every citizen. Most of us agree with him. Indeed, definite plans toward achieving some of these minimum standards are already being made in the National Resources Planning Board; the following are the objectives which the Board itself set up as early as August, 1941, in its publication *After Defense—What?*: "We must plan to enable every human being within our boundaries to realize progressively the promise of American life in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, work, rest, home life, opportunity to advance, adventure, and the basic freedoms."

We may need to leave to economists the large problems of government finance involved in these vast programs, firmly believing that they can be solved. But let us play our own important part. Social workers know more than any other group in America about the actual effects upon individuals and families of inadequacies in the Big Five. To us, they are not statistical averages; they are sick and suffering people. Social work can carry its attack into this sector of postwar planning with a full and intimate knowledge of conditions as they do exist, and with a personnel trained in meeting those conditions. We need to guide the more theoretical planners with our practical experience.

For instance, shelter is one of Mr. Chase's Big Five: In some quarters grandiose schemes for government housing are being

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aired. There is undoubtedly place for a certain amount of government housing, temporarily in some of our war-boom communities, permanently in the worst of our slum areas. But I am old-fashioned enough to believe that not all our housing shortage, nor the bulk of it, should be so handled. The problem may be better solved by improving wages, and by special devices for raising family incomes to the point where families can afford the kind of homes they need. Add to this the new techniques in prefabrication, mass production, and coöperative financing—and also good orientation for light and air and the benefits that go with skilled neighborhood and city planning—and while the housing problem may not be wholly solved, a long stride forward will have been taken toward assuring better homes for multitudes in a brief time.

Education, another of the Big Five, needs attention. Illiteracy is still too high in our own country and all over the world. In the United States probably not fewer than six hundred thousand children of elementary school age are not attending school, because of lack of opportunity. Even more disturbing, our illiterates outnumber our college graduates. Rural school facilities in some parts of the country are grossly inadequate; enthusiasm for the public school as the cornerstone of democracy seems, unfortunately, to have lost some ground. This bulwark of a free people needs new attention, understanding, revitalizing, and support.

Recreation, as social work sees it, is not to be dismissed as merely an adjunct to health service. The wholesome use of leisure time can do much to prevent or correct behavior problems, and to assist recovery from the fatigue of monotonous work. Also, for vast numbers of the people, it opens new doors to self-realization, to self-expression in various arts, in handicrafts, in athletic games, in such practical and satisfying activities as equipping and beautifying the home, in civic and social movements, and in the cultivation of the religious life. It offers opportunity for just plain diversion, amusement, and entertainment. All of these are a part, not only of a healthy life, but also of a rich and full life.

Similarly, we need to bring social work's viewpoint and experience to bear upon all the major problems in the postwar

agenda. In addition, we need to do some special postwar planning of our own for particular disadvantaged groups and those cankers in society which are not covered in these more sweeping categories.

Finally, after this brief glance at social work's strengths and its problems, where do we now stand?

We meet in dark times. Most of us labor under the heavy strains of increased emergency duties. Many of us have sons in the war, or others who are dear to us in positions of increased danger. Much of the war news still is bad, and some of it is very bad.

We stand at a crossroads in history. We are not asked to choose which road we shall take; our enemies propose to drive us down the road of their choosing. They propose to compel us to accept their New Order, which repudiates the moral responsibility of man, demands a forced and uncritical obedience to authority, resurrects the old and bloody concept of a superior race of which all other nations and peoples are the natural slaves, and leaves to the individual only such circumscribed scope as serves the ends of military aggression.

On our side are the nations which, in the evolution of society, have become democratic states, holding to ideals of liberty, equality of rights for each citizen, and the principle of brotherhood for all.

Now we are engaged in a supreme test of the validity of these ideals. We are at a crisis when each citizen is choosing the part he would play, the service he would render to the cause of world freedom. We know that our experience has attacking power for the cause to which we give our allegiance.

On one front are those who serve the social needs of the men and women directly engaged, either in the fighting lines or in the great war production enterprise supporting it.

On a second front are those seeking to keep alive the human values and the physical, spiritual, and cultural services which are essential parts of modern organized society.

On the third front are those seeking to make as sure as can be done in advance that society shall this time get what it is fighting for—a peacetime world which will eliminate the worst foes of the

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general social welfare and open up new opportunities for richer and fuller living for all.

On which of these fronts the largest contributions can be made only the chronicle of time will tell; but we believe not the least of the three is the second—the permanent home and community supply line. Here is where social work, because of its kindred purpose with democracy, finds freest play for its talents. Here is where, looking back at the past to learn from experience, and looking ahead to the future to plan a better day, we find the task of holding firm the foundations upon which the future must be built. The future must come out of the life of today. What happens now to our social, economic, political, educational, and other institutions will determine the institutions to come. As Herbert Agar puts it, "What a civilization can do tomorrow depends on what it is doing today and what its ancestors did yesterday."

Over 150 years ago Edmund Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* expressed the same idea in a memorable passage, which runs:

Society is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained by many generations, it becomes a partnership between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, connecting the visible and invisible world.

In these inspiring, not to say sublime, words we may find both a reminder and reassurance that the tasks of social work, the tasks of freedom and democracy, whose ends social work serves, in dark days and bright, have a partnership with all those forces of the past which emanated from a basic belief in the supreme worth of each human soul and a tie with all those forces of the future which will ceaselessly strive for a truer brotherhood of man.

On every front the jobs to be done are challenging. They do not beckon to something comfortable and easy. We *are* at a cross-roads in history. We are in a hard fight, and the reference to dark days and weeks and months ahead is no idle figure of speech. Win we must and win we will, but it will take from each of us

the utmost in effort and sacrifice in the field where he or she is most able. Contemplation of our essential part in this conflict, the struggle to maintain hard-won cultural values and to project them and something better into the future, leaves one with no sense of complacency nor easy repose. The call on all sides is for those who would tackle a hard and complex world of needs.

We can, however, take courage. We have only just begun to fight. We not only have great material resources which are beginning to flow, but we have great resources of the spirit on which to draw.

Some of us took fresh courage from the burning words of Mme Chiang Kai-shek:

Full realization of the significance of China's epic fight began to dawn . . . when the [Western] powers themselves felt the shattering impact of Japan's might and began to ask what secret weapon it could have been that enabled China to remain undefeated. Accustomed to view war in terms of material equipment, in the beginning they failed to understand that our weapon was the spiritual heritage of the Chinese race. Equipment, important as it is, is not all-powerful.

We here in America have China's secret weapon of a spiritual heritage of freedom, and we begin to have the equipment, too. Of ultimate victory we have no doubt.

For this victory social work cannot supply guns, but it can hold and strengthen our spiritual heritage. If social work is to give its best service to the nation and to the victory of democracy in this war, it needs to operate as an attacking force. This requires a certain fluidity, a willingness to change traditional forms in the face of new objectives, resourcefulness and daring in meeting new emergencies, speed and vigor in action.

We shall go forward to plan a yet more effective attack on all of social work's three main fronts—direct service to the war effort, faithful and undaunted performance of our essential day-by-day duties, and the setting up of inspiring and practical goals for tomorrow.

COMING CHANGES IN OUR STANDARD OF LIVING

By LEON HENDERSON

I TAKE MY TEXT from the Prophet Joel: "Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near, let them come up. Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears."

That is the exhortation America is heeding today. Since ours are the mightiest of plowshares, so too ours will be the mightiest of swords. We are swiftly converting our great industrial plants and a great industrial labor force to the production of war goods. In this we are confounding the Axis leaders and dismaying the Axis peoples.

It has been a favorite fable of *Mein Kampf* that we are a materialistic and degenerate people, that we have no concern but for our comforts, that we have grown fat and soft and incapable of defending ourselves against their lean, hard, and hungry legions. You and I know that the American way of life is not a weak and soft way, but a strong and vigorous way of life. We know that it is not degenerate to provide good schooling for our young; that it is not degenerate to provide security and comfort for the aged and underprivileged; and that it is not degenerate to have harnessed the forces of nature to do our work on the farms, in the factories, and in our homes.

It is the boast of the Axis that modern war is mechanized war. That very fact will be their undoing; for we are a people who understand machines. We can turn them to the purposes of war. When we shall have fully converted our machines from instru-

ments of peace to instruments of war, it is the machines which will decide the issue.

America, through three centuries of toil and ingenuity, has won for the common man the highest standard of living of all time. This is not a source of weakness. This is a source of strength, as the Axis will learn. The Axis will learn, too, that our standard of living is not limited to materialistic concepts, that the dignity of the individual and his essential freedoms are part and parcel of our standards. We do take pride in our standard of living. But we take greater pride in our heritage of freedom. And we do not hesitate to defend that heritage with everything we possess.

And make no mistake, it will take everything we possess. We are faced by enemies who are sitting astride vast conquered territories, enemies who hold their conquered peoples to a starvation level while extracting every last ounce of their productive power to feed the war machines. Against such formidable enemies we must marshal our full resources. This means that every available machine, every possible ounce of raw material and of man power must be diverted toward the production of armament, equipment, food, and clothing for our armed force, and for those of our allies. The more rapidly and completely we convert our economy from civilian to military production, the more quickly will the job be over and the less ruin will it leave in its wake. In the process we will have to make many adjustments in our accustomed way of life, but wars cannot be won without such sacrifices, and no nation is strong which cannot adjust.

How far we will have to cut civilian production before the war is over, no one today can foresee. All of us without exception will have to give up—and already are giving up—many of the luxuries to which we have been accustomed. Yet, as far as we can see today, none of us, barring such natural disasters as drought or flood, will be deprived of any of the goods really essential to our welfare; all of us will have enough to eat; we will all have adequate shelter and enough clothing and fuel to keep us warm and dry. In this assurance we are far more fortunate than any of the other nations actively participating in the war.

America is fighting this war with the highest standard of pro-

duction in its history. As the war deepens, as we pass from the three and a half billion dollars of war goods of May, 1942, to the five billion dollars of November, 1942, with six billion a month on the horizon, we shall know, and the world will know, that the shifts we make within that proud record of achievement are not reductions in our standards of life. These standards permit us that greatest of all luxuries, the assurance of victory. No civilization ever before contemplated the magnitudes of national insurance such as we have in the realization that, soon, every month we shall make war goods worth more than Japan's entire national income for a year. We can afford a war economy; Japan and Germany cannot.

Naturally, the transition from a civilian to a war economy is not achieved overnight. All through the winter of 1940 and the spring and summer of 1941 we were taking huge strides in preparing for the production of arms and military equipment; yet civilian production, far from declining, actually continued to advance. It was a true "guns and butter" period. In fact, the peak of civilian consumption was not reached until August, 1941. Only then did the squeeze really begin to make itself felt, largely through the forced curtailment of manufacture of such consumer products as refrigerators and automobiles in order to insure adequate raw materials for the merchandise of death. Since last summer, and particularly since Pearl Harbor, this curtailment in metalworking industries has been proceeding at an increasing pace, until now the government has virtually forbidden any further use of metals for the production of articles for the civilian market.

Take steel as an example. No other nation dare put 98.6 percent of its steel output into the war effort. We can do it because we have vast civilian stockpiles already in our homes, and so we can yield to war the steel for atomizers and attic fans, bird cages and bridge splash guards, canopies and crumb trays, pushcarts and terrazzo spacers, and 400 other steel items, many of which the Nazis and the Japs could not give up, because they have never enjoyed them.

With regard to food, textiles, and clothing, the situation has been quite different. Production has not been curtailed; it is, in

fact, being expanded to the limit. Nevertheless, though production of food, textiles, and clothing will stay at record peaks, supplies of many kinds of products available for civilian use will be cut deeply as ever increasing quantities are earmarked for the use of our armed forces and those of our allies. In 1942 about one third of our lard production and one fifth of other pork products are being shipped abroad; one third of our wool production has been earmarked to equip our service men, and over one half of the capacity of our cotton mills during 1942 has been similarly diverted. Our entire production of nylon, all our best sole leather, and large quantities of the most desirable packs of canned fruits and vegetables are reserved exclusively for army use.

Imports are in another class. Japanese conquests in the Pacific, the extension of the war at sea, and the constantly growing demands upon our shipping facilities have further curtailed our supplies of raw materials. Rubber for our tires, from Malaya; coconut oil for soap, from the Philippines; and silk from Japan are no longer available. Military needs for shipping have sharply reduced the amounts of sugar, coffee, and cocoa we can import and the amounts of gasoline and fuel oil we can ship from our midcontinent producing areas to states along the Atlantic coast.

So much for the underlying causes of the present situation. Just what does this mean in concrete terms as regards the American standard of food, clothing, and housing?

It should be remembered that at the peak of civilian consumption, in August, 1941, the average American enjoyed a higher standard of living than has ever been attained, in this or any other nation, at any other time in history. In 1939 consumers spent sixty-one billion dollars; by 1941 there were seventy-four billion dollars to be spent, because we had attained that mecca of dreamers—a one hundred billion dollar national income level. Reaching that goal is in itself a distinguished mark of a high standard of living.

At present, however, the process of pulling in our belts is well under way. By March of 1942 the per capita consumption of consumer goods in the United States had fallen 7 percent below its peak level of the preceding August, but the average person did

not realize it because he was paying 7 percent more in price. By December, 1942, the per capita output of consumer goods and services available for civilian use will have been cut about 25 percent below the peak levels of 1941.

In presenting these statistics, I must warn you that averages are likely to be misleading. A 7 percent cut, or even a 25 percent cut, in per capita production of consumer goods does not mean that all of us must be content with that much less of everything. The reductions which will have to be made will be spread unevenly all along the line; luxuries will be affected far more than necessities, although even the latter will be curtailed; and the standard of living of the upper- and middle-income brackets will be reduced much more sharply than that of the lower one third of our population.

I have been quoted as saying that by December, 1942, we shall be down to a 1935 level of living, and by December, 1943, to the ghastly level of 1932. That is entirely incorrect. I have said that by December we shall be producing no more per capita of consumer goods than in 1935, and if war production speeds, the next December will see us down to 1932. But not to 1935 and 1932 standards of life. Not by a long shot. Those were days of tragic bitterness, undernourishment, and hopelessness. Days of idle factories and idle men, with granaries bursting in the faces of hungry people.

This time we shall curtail our materials—by choice—so that we may fight. This time no one need be unemployed. And this time we shall use our surpluses of food and clothing, because people will have the money—yes, too much of it—to pay for their needs. Lastly, by equitable rationing, by raising substandard wages, and by real attention to our precious resource, life itself, we shall avoid the 1932 of unsaintly memory.

But we shall have cuts just the same. The first big cuts must come in the luxury goods, particularly those known to the economist as “consumers’ durables.” All of us will have to get along with our old refrigerators and radios and washing machines, and if they wear out we may even have to do without them entirely. We will not be able to get metal furniture or replace our kitchen

cutlery. Most of these represent negligible sacrifices in terms of the goals for which we are fighting.

Of considerably more serious consequence to the way of life of millions of Americans is the forced reduction in the use of private automobiles and, perhaps, of certain other forms of transportation. To many, particularly those living in suburban and rural areas, this represents a substantial inconvenience; yet it is one which cannot, as far as we can see, be avoided. We cannot expand the production of synthetic rubber rapidly enough to leave any available for unessential civilian uses; nor are we justified in risking the lives of a tanker's crew to permit Sunday motoring on the East coast. All that can be done is to make sure that our sacrifices are distributed as equitably as possible.

As regards food, clothing, shelter, and fuel—the outlook is less grim. Our primary problem of shelter relates not so much to the general availability of housing throughout the country, but rather to the provision of adequate housing in those areas in which defense workers have been concentrated. This problem has been accepted as a public responsibility and is being met as rapidly as possible. In the meantime there has been considerable discomfort but relatively little true distress. The real distress has come from rising rents, which we expect to halt.

The problem of fuel is primarily not one of production but of transportation. As war production expands, the demands upon our railroads increase correspondingly. The need for consumers to anticipate the winter's fuel needs has been repeatedly emphasized. If these warnings meet an adequate response, fuel shortages are not likely to constitute a very acute problem during the winter of 1942, although even so there may be some pinch felt in certain localities. Keep in mind that not a small part of the necessity for East coast gasoline rationing is the need to build up our reserves of home-heating fuels, and that probably homes will not be heated so warmly this winter.

Clothing in the styles to which we have become accustomed presents considerably more difficulty. The abandonment of silk and the need for all available nylon for military uses imply a marked change in the clothing habits of one half of our people.

Considerable change in quality must be anticipated; all-wool products will no longer be available; and there will be considerable change in weaves and fabrics. Nevertheless, the present outlook suggests that during the coming year, at least, the average individual will find it possible to obtain enough clothing, and good enough clothing, for all his essential needs. Those who have been able to spend freely on clothes in the past will be most affected, since primary emphasis must necessarily be upon the production of adequate work clothing for the employees in our war factories.

The shortages to which I have referred will cause serious inconvenience to some, but none of them is likely to be of crucial significance so long as an adequate supply of food remains available to the civilian population. By adequate I do not mean a supply upon which we can all get fat or continue fat, but rather one which will permit us all to continue to work efficiently and do our share in the job of supplying our armies and the armies of the other United Nations with guns and equipment.

Nor is the adequacy of our food supply an easy subject upon which to venture a prophecy. Food is produced largely upon our farms, and the yield of the soil is greatly affected by unpredictable factors, such as the weather; yet, so far as I can see—and I am backed in this view by the experts of the Department of Agriculture—the outlook is definitely encouraging. Even though it is estimated that one sixth of our total output of food will be required for the use of the Army and for lease-lend shipment abroad, there should still remain ample for the civilian population, providing that it is equitably distributed.

Current estimates point to a bumper crop of wheat, one of our primary and most essential staples. There seems almost no prospect at this time that we shall soon be forced to curtail the amount of flour or bread available to the average American. The same seems true of most fresh fruits and vegetables, insuring an adequate supply of most of the minerals and vitamins essential to human well-being. The production of our dairy farms, too, promises to be adequate, even allowing for the shipment abroad

of huge quantities of condensed milk and cheese. And we may even find more sugar for home canning.

With respect to meats, there may be considerably more of a squeeze, not because we are producing less in the aggregate, but because we must make heavy shipments, particularly of pork products, to Europe. It is also very possible that there may be some shortage of such products as shortenings because of the urgent needs of our allies. But while we may be forced to curtail our consumption of these products somewhat, the extent of the curtailment should cause relatively little real hardship.

The greatest food shortages, fortunately, are of those products which we can best do without in a pinch. Almost certainly we will not be able to spare enough ships to bring in as much coffee, cocoa, and tea as we have had in the past, and the consumption of sugar has already had to be restricted.

The production of those goods essential for the civilian population is likely to be sufficient to avoid any sacrifice that cannot be borne cheerfully in view of the goals to be attained. I am convinced that there will be enough to go around, provided that we make sure that it is distributed equitably, and that means that all of us must share equally in whatever sacrifice may be necessary.

Equality of sacrifice is the foundation of the President's seven-point program. This principle will govern economic policy in every field for the duration of the war. It underlies the general retail price ceiling. The rising cost of living has imposed harsh and unfair sacrifices upon many of our people. People of low and fixed incomes, including dependents of men at the front, have suffered a curtailment in their already meager standard of living, as rising prices have pushed necessities beyond the reach of their slender purses. So far as most necessities are concerned, that situation is ended by the general price ceiling. Once the full significance of the President's program is understood, I am confident that it will also be ended for the products, such as butter, eggs, and dairy products, now excluded from the ceiling regulation by the statutory 110 percent parity limitation on the control of farm prices.

Equality of sacrifice underlies the Treasury savings and tax

programs. In view of the drastic curtailment in the volume of available consumer goods, equally drastic measures are necessary to absorb the billions of dollars of excess purchasing power. Unless this excess purchasing power is sopped up, it will break through the dam erected by the price ceiling, and defeat our effort to stabilize the cost of living. But it would be a mistake to regard the tax program simply as a device for preventing inflation. It is at the same time the means of distributing the burdens of war in accordance with each one's capacity to bear those burdens.

Equality of sacrifice underlies the national policy for the stabilization of incomes. In view of the smaller volume of goods available for consumption, continued growth of money income means explosive pressure upon our price ceiling. It means defeat in the battle against inflation. But it would be a mistake to think of the stabilization of income—farm income, wage income, the income of management—simply as a device to prevent inflation. Because the volume of goods available for consumption is going to be drastically restricted, no group can maintain or improve its standard of living except by forcing a double cut upon some other group. Here I recognize one of the gravest cuts in our necessities. One of the major freedoms of our way of life has been the freedom to bargain collectively for higher wages, and by that bargaining the American standard of life has had a steady measure of forward trend. Today collective bargaining comes head-on in collision with stabilization of income. I earnestly ask tolerance and forbearance while these two great necessities are satisfactorily adjusted. Certainly morale, one of the precious components of our life, rests just as heavily on this as it does upon a full stomach.

I recognize that there are some incomes which permit of a standard of living far beyond what is appropriate in time of war. It is not enough to stabilize such incomes. It is necessary through heavy and progressive taxation to secure adequate contribution to the common effort.

I recognize also that there are substandard incomes, insufficient to maintain health and efficiency. Even at a time when our

national standard of production must be reduced to the level which prevailed in 1932, these incomes must be raised. Both justice and common sense require that this be done.

For the bulk of wage and salary and farm incomes, the principle must be that of stabilization for the duration. This will prevent the compounding of inequities, and will permit the effective use of progressive taxation to secure from each a contribution according to his capacity.

All these policies and programs flow from the curtailment of the material standard of living which we have chosen to impose upon ourselves in order to assure victory upon the battlefield. There is one further program which is necessary to the equitable distribution of goods among our civilian population. This is the program of direct rationing itself.

Quite apart from the hardship of doing without things to which we have been long accustomed, the administration of rationing involves vexation and discomfort. I have responsibility for rationing. I recognize how exasperating it is to wait long hours for a ration book, or to stand in line at a counter to receive the rationed articles. But there is no substitute for direct and specific rationing in equitably apportioning acutely scarce supplies of basic necessities. We who are charged with responsibility for rationing do not undertake it lightly. I give you my assurance that rationing will be undertaken only as circumstances compel its use. Remember, when you are confronted with the inevitable irritations, that it is Hitler and Tojo who create the acute scarcities and that rationing, however vexatious, is the only alternative to a truly intolerable scramble for scarce goods.

We may fail in the choices of mechanics for rationing. We may fail in our publicity. But I have placed the administration of rationing in the hands of local price and rationing boards. These boards are committees of neighbors. I can think of no better, no more democratic, organization for determining the distribution of scarce goods. Washington may determine the basic rations, but in the hands of those committees of neighbors rests the responsibility for adjusting the rations to the needs of individual families in the community.

We have been a peaceful people, devoting ourselves to the arts of agriculture and industry and to the betterment of our lot. We have not cultivated the arts of war, for we have not coveted the lands of our neighbors. It was for this reason that we have, in the first few months of the war, taken terrible blows and suffered grievous defeats. We were unprepared, but we were neither fat, nor soft, nor servile. We have accepted the challenge of war. We are beating our autos into tanks and our gadgets into bombers. We shall not flinch from hardship at home nor from reverses in the field.

WARTIME SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN

By *MALCOLM MacDONALD*

AS I SAT one night in the dim interior of a transatlantic airplane, and was whisked overnight from the Eastern Hemisphere to the Western Hemisphere, I reflected on the benefits which would come after the war from this development of rapid air communication. I thought how it would bring the peoples of America and Britain much closer together than they have been before; how we should begin to know each other and understand each other better, and how it would be easier for us to work together. Of course, friendship between America and Britain is now being firmly established by the common sacrifices and endeavors of a war in which we are comrades-in-arms defending everything which is precious in civilization. Almost daily new links are being forged between us.

We all look forward to the day when the victory is won, and when we can once more turn our energies to the creative and civilizing works of peace. Then also there must be increasing Anglo-American coöperation. That is going to be the best assurance that there will be sane and enlightened progress in human affairs. You in America and we in Great Britain have much to teach each other, for example, in the particular field of social work.

But we don't have to wait until the war is over. There is plenty of work for social workers to do in this war. In Britain social workers are playing a part second to none in the waging of the war; for modern warfare is no longer just a business in which

armies and navies and air forces fight against each other in certain carefully defined and honorably observed spheres of belligerency. Modern war is a gigantic upheaval which affects almost every aspect of national life. Indeed, one of the principal objects of the enemy in this total war is to destroy the nerve and break the spirit of those civilian populations whose work and energy and resoluteness are vital elements in the capacity of a nation to maintain the conflict.

One of the best ways of preserving the morale of civilian populations under that strain is by keeping at full blast all the social services which can help to preserve fitness of body and calmness of mind. On the besieged battlefield of Britain many old-established social services have been further developed and many entirely new social services have been created to maintain the health and the welfare of our people in unprecedented and sometimes terribly difficult circumstances. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate the importance of the services which our social workers have performed during this crisis. Perhaps I can state it best by expressing my opinion that if it had not been for their healing touch, and often their heroic action, the spirit even of a tough people like the British might have cracked and we might have lost the battle of Britain.

I shall draw a simple picture of wartime social work and some of its problems. It is impossible, of course, to mention all the wartime social services which have played a part in the salvation of Britain.

When countless married women are working all day in munitions factories, something must be done to care for their children who are too young to spend the time at school. In Britain, in all munitions-making towns, day nurseries have sprung up, and the infants are taken there and looked after properly by specially trained helpers. But mass entry of women into munition factories has also created other problems. If you are a wife spending most of your time in a workshop, making munitions, or shells, or tanks, or airplanes, you can't at the same time be in a kitchen making soups, and roast beef, and pastries for the nourishment of your family. And so, under war conditions in Britain, men and women

who are in industry no longer have their meals in their own homes. That situation has been met by a regular and, indeed, compulsory service in all our great armaments factories. A good canteen has been provided in each establishment, and the food is not only attractively cooked, but scientifically selected so that it contributes, not merely to the contentment, but positively to the physical health of the workers.

Another whole category of new social services has sprung out of the destruction of war in Britain. At any moment there a stick of bombs may fall upon a community and smash to bits some vital machinery in its powerhouse and puncture grievously water mains and gas mains. Then nobody at all in the whole place can do any cooking. So we established all over the country great fleets of mobile canteens which are ready at a moment's notice with their urns full of hot tea and their trays filled with hot pies to rush into the shattered streets. Those kitchens on wheels are among the most welcome of all the Good Samaritans who now go into the roads as soon as the all-clear sounds, and often before it has sounded.

Provisions have to be made for the compensation and maintenance of people who lose their all in air raids—their furniture, their clothing, every single thing that they possess; there has to be an organization to accommodate and entertain members of the fighting forces when they are on leave; and there have to be arrangements for the adult education of the soldiers and sailors and airmen during their training. These again are but a few of the social services of wartime.

Some of our problems we anticipated, and we were prepared to meet them; others took us by surprise. Before the struggle began anybody would have said that this war would be fabulously costly in human lives. Not only soldiers and sailors and airmen would be killed, but also vast civilian populations. The diabolical nature of modern armaments made it seem certain that the casualties would reach astronomical figures. We made great preparations for the vast numbers of people who would be wounded in air raids. We got the air raids but we did not get the casualties. The bombs which the German air force hurled

night after night on our civilian populations did only a small fraction of the damage to life and limb which we had expected. Before the war many pessimistic experts assured us that if we were to deal adequately with air-raid casualties we must have in our hospitals 1,000,000 beds. By a tremendous effort we did actually succeed in providing a minimum of 350,000 beds. Then we found, after months and months and months of continuous heavy bombing, that the maximum number of beds which were ever filled at any one time by air-raid casualties was only 7,000. That was one of the major miscalculations of the war. It might be called euphemistically a mistake on the right side, but it led to a mistake on the wrong side. The merciful fact that the civilian casualties were comparatively light did not mean that the German bombs were not doing some fearful destruction. They were far more successful in injuring buildings. Tens of thousands, then scores of thousands, and in the end many hundred thousand dwelling houses were either completely destroyed or else so damaged that they were temporarily unfit for habitation. We had supposed that when dwellings were destroyed their inmates would be killed or wounded, but they were not. In a certain city which had suffered a small series of raids, 14,000 houses had been damaged and only 200 people killed or seriously wounded. By some miracle, when houses get smashed, their householders usually escape without a scratch. They emerge hale and remarkably hearty, only they suddenly have no roof over their heads. We thought that they would be cases for mortuaries and hospitals and we provided such accommodations on a handsome scale. They did not want anything of the kind. All that they wanted was some new domestic refuge.

That was why you heard so much in the early days of the problem of the homeless. Naturally, we had prepared for a fair number of people who would be uninjured and homeless, but we had not provided accommodations on anything like the Gargantuan scale which eventually proved to be necessary. However, one of the real triumphs of the British people has been the swiftness with which we have learned the lessons of our miscalculations

and mistakes, and the rapidity with which we have improvised some solution for unexpected problems.

Distributed plentifully, now, through all the cities and towns which may be bombed are food and rest centers for the homeless. These are in schools and church halls and clubs and other buildings. Their location is advertised on posters in the streets. They are known to the air-raid wardens and police, who guide homeless people to them while the raids are proceeding. In each of these centers is a small administrative staff of local government officials and welfare workers and a trained nurse is in constant attendance. As soon as an air raid begins, the kettles and coppers in the centers are put on to boil. They can provide immediately those hot drinks and hot soups which are the most welcome of all the healing gifts for people likely to be suffering from shock. The shelters are well stocked with food; they are furnished plentifully with camp beds and blankets; they have great stores of clothing and many other comforts. In fact, they can give excellent board and lodging to two, three, or four hundred people for a few days.

But those food and rest centers are only the first line of shelter for the homeless. They are like casualty-clearing stations on the battlefield. The people cannot stay in them very long, because as soon as possible after each air raid the rooms have to be emptied again to receive fresh waves of thousands of homeless people. From the food and rest centers the people are dispersed into more permanent abodes.

There are many ways by which the homeless find more permanent roofs. First of all, the homes of many of them have not actually been damaged at all. They have only had to be evacuated temporarily because of the presence near them of an unexploded bomb; and as soon as the heroic volunteers in the bomb-disposal squads have risked their lives and eliminated the unwelcome visitor, then that batch of people can live again in their own houses. The houses of many others have probably received superficial damage only. As soon as those homes have had first-aid repairs, when the holes in the roofs have been patched and some substitute for glass has been fitted into the broken windows and

the cracks in the walls have been made wind- and weather-proof, then that batch of homeless also can live again in their own homes. Many others share a roof with neighbors, friends, or relatives. Others take up quarters in communal hostels which the Government has established. Others get free railroad tickets from the Government and evacuate into the countryside. Thus by one means or another many hundreds of thousands of homeless people have been reabsorbed into comfortable, if somewhat overcrowded, domestic family life. It is one of the most remarkable organizations of human aid in the whole of human history.

There are a few quite practical reasons why it so often happens that when houses are smashed their inmates escape unscratched. The most important reason is the nation-wide provision of air-raid shelters. There are all sorts of different sizes and shapes of air-raid shelters. You can choose your pattern according to your particular taste. Many people take refuge in their own cellars, which are now furnished with thermos flasks and electric torches, with pails of water and stirrup pumps, with camp kits and first-aid cases, instead of with bottles of vintage wines. Then there are the Anderson shelters which were distributed in millions by the Government. They look like overgrown dog kennels, half buried under mounds of earth in back yards and gardens. They are among the true heroes of this war, for they have already withstood countless thousands of near misses by bombs, and have saved a multitude of lives. (If you are tucked in an Anderson shelter a near miss is as good as a mile.) There are many other kinds of private shelters. The latest is a huge piece of steel furniture which you can put into your living room, and if you creep into that when the air raid starts, you can stay there with impunity, for its ceiling is strong enough to bear the whole weight of the house if it comes tumbling down on top of you. In fact, the Englishman's home has become more than ever his castle.

There are also public shelters, and among them are the giant shelters into which, at the height of bombardment, many thousands of people used to crowd. They are the deep tube stations, or the long railroad tunnels, or the subterranean vaults of large buildings. Those large shelters became the most famous, but their

importance should not be exaggerated. The great majority of the citizens of Britain never went anywhere near them; more than 90 percent of the population of London were not to be found in those giant shelters at night. As a matter of fact, a lot of people never bothered about shelter at all. They just slept in their own beds with a glorious contempt for the Germans and a touching faith in Providence.

Nevertheless, even when you have disposed of 90 percent of the population of London elsewhere, there are still enough people left to make huge assemblies spending the evenings and sleeping the nights in those subterranean shelters. They used to present motley scenes which would have delighted the pencil of a Rowlandson or a Hogarth. In the early days I am afraid the amenities were conspicuous by their absence. People herded into them, played cards or other games, performed on mouth organs and accordions, or just sat around and gossiped, while the German planes were overhead. There was no regular bedding; there was inadequate sanitation; there was no effective ventilation. It did not matter so long as people only spent an hour or two in the places now and then. And that was all we expected they would do, at the beginning of the war. But then when Belgium and Holland and finally France suddenly collapsed, and the Germans got command of all the air fields just across the English Channel and could keep hundreds of airplanes over our heads night after night, and when those air-raid shelters became war-time dormitories in which huge populations lived ten or twelve or fourteen hours every day through the winter, then that subterranean congestion became a serious menace to public health, and the Government and social workers had to bestir themselves to avert the threat.

Within a comparatively short time those shelters were transformed into comfortable places which would have made the eyes of the original cave men pop with astonishment. Millions of bunks were installed; heating and lighting, sanitation, and ventilation were vastly improved; canteens with food and drink were introduced; in every large shelter there was a medical aid post equipped with everything which could be required in a modern

doctor's consulting room. There were trained nurses in constant attention; there was a regular visit every evening by a doctor, who was on call at all times. Some of the bunks were set apart as a sort of isolation ward so that people who were found to have infectious diseases could be segregated until they could be taken to hospitals. Cleansing squads were hired to tidy the shelters in the mornings; shelter wardens were appointed to supervise the community life through the evenings; and all manner of other provision was made for the proper ordering of life in those communities. We were able to beat back the threat of aggression by parasites and bugs and disease carriers just as effectively as our anti-aircraft gunners beat back the attack of the German airmen in the skies.

Those are some of the new social problems of industrial Britain in wartime. But there were other problems elsewhere. There were new social work problems in rural Britain. Some of them were partly of our own creation. From the beginning of the war we have pursued a policy which tries to observe the sound principle that prevention is better than cure. While we were making elaborate arrangements for the care of people whose homes were hit or who were themselves hit by bombs, we planned at the same time to prevent as many people as possible from being hit by bombs at all. Of course, no part of our tiny island is safe from aerial attack. No abodes are so humble that they are exempt from the possibilities of experiencing German frightfulness. The peaceful streets and dwellings of inconspicuous villages may at any time be seared and scarred by one of Hitler's land mines. Nevertheless, there are degrees of safety, and an important part of the Government's policy was the evacuation of certain categories of the population, particularly the children, from the more dangerous areas to those which were safer.

By the time the bombardment of London reached its height, 85 percent of the whole child population of school age and under had been evacuated from the crowded boroughs where the danger was greatest. In other words, 800,000 children, aged fourteen and under, had left the capital city. But that was only London. There were similar, though not proportionate, emigrations from

other badly bombed places like Coventry, Plymouth, Bristol, Manchester; and so the number of children who were evacuated into the countryside was enormously swollen. The great majority of those children were not accompanied by any of the older members of their families. Their fathers stayed in the bombed areas to help to defeat the enemy, and the mothers stayed at their husbands' sides. So the young generation went off on their own, accompanied only by their schoolteachers, on the great adventure of evacuation.

And for many it was an adventure indeed. Many of them had never seen leafy woods or fields of green grass or wild flowers growing, and for some of them a live cow or a sheep or a pig was a much stranger animal than the elephants, giraffes, and chimpanzees in the zoo in Regent's Park. Those youngsters were distributed far and wide through the agricultural counties, from the northeast to the southwest of the island. They were taken into the houses and cottages of the country people. Scores of thousands of foster parents have taken them in and cared for them with a devotion which is above all praise. They are doing a war work just as essential as any other war work; perhaps even more important, for they are protecting the young generation, the future of the race, from the harm to body or mind which might pounce upon them from the skies above their own homes.

But that evacuation of children was not the end of the obligations which were suddenly thrust upon rural communities. It was only the beginning. All sorts of other classes in the population were also evacuated. Although it is true that the great majority of school children who went into rural Britain were not accompanied by their parents, tens of thousands of mothers did go into country households with their young families. That was especially true in cases of children under four or five years who could not go to school and could not be left by themselves. In addition, there were expectant mothers, who went into the country for the last month of their pregnancy and for their confinement, to have comparative peace and quiet there. There were aged and infirm people whom it was undesirable to leave amid the stress and strain of nightly bombardments in the cities and

towns. There were civil servants whose departments evacuated into the country; additional numbers of agricultural workers, including the women land workers, who helped to increase the food for the besieged island. There was unit after unit of our growing army doing their training throughout agricultural Britain. In fact, the numbers of additional population who had to be accommodated in the agricultural shires were, at the height of the evacuation, counted not in hundreds of thousands, but in millions. All those people had to be fitted into the sleepy old manor houses and parsonages, the farms and cottages of rural Britain.

Such a huge immigration completely transformed life there. It was like a visitation by locusts. Some villages and country market towns had their populations increased in a few weeks by 50 or 60 or 70 percent, and that sudden congestion created social problems for which we had to improvise swift remedies. The working out of those remedies is having a profound and abiding and, I believe, beneficial influence on our society.

The exodus of women and children took place from the cities and towns where there were highly developed and adequate public health services, like child welfare clinics, maternity homes, hospitals, and the rest. Those hundreds of thousands of women and children went to live in places hitherto sparsely populated, areas where the public health provision was adequate to look after the normal population but hopelessly inadequate to deal with the vast invasion of new people. What could we do to look after the health of those people, living now often under serious conditions of overcrowding? The Government in Whitehall paid for everything which needed doing, and we swiftly added to the normal public health services of rural Britain a new, far-reaching public health service.

We borrowed or commandeered from the well-to-do many of their lovely country houses, their ancient manor houses, and put them to various war purposes. Many of those splendid homes today are residential nursery schools, filled with infants from the bombed cities, with their trained staffs to look after them. In those places the pale, town-bred children are growing fat and rosy and healthy in the fresh country air. Others of these great homes

are now maternity hospitals, equipped with the most up-to-date furnishings and appliances and staffed by the most expert doctors and nurses. To them come the expectant mothers from the bombed towns to have their babies. From London alone, when the bombardment was at its worst, more than five hundred such mothers were going into the country every week. Others of the great houses of England are hostels for aged and infirm people; others are sick bays for *évacué* children who suffer from minor complaints; others are hospitals and convalescent homes for wounded soldiers or civilians; others are prenatal or postnatal homes; some are hostels for evacuated families which are too large to go into other billets; and yet others are hostels for children too naughty to be inflicted upon strange foster parents.

The stately homes of England are serving the common people of the island as never before. When you go into their long Tudor galleries and Jacobean parlors and spacious eighteenth-century drawing rooms and find them occupied by communities of humble people, you might suppose that some violent revolution was in progress. It is a revolution, but it is being achieved peacefully by general consent in the stress of a war which has done more than anything ever before to sweep away class differences in the nation. When the war is over many conditions will have changed. For one thing, many of the owners of those great houses will not wish, or will not be able to afford, to live in them again; and I, for one, hope that the Government will then acquire those places permanently, to become maternity homes and residential nursery schools and hostels to serve always the heroic common people of Britain.

The education of the evacuated youngsters had to be continued when they arrived in the countryside. Their own schoolteachers were there to help, because the teachers have gone wherever the children were sent. But what about classrooms? The village schools were thrown open for their unfettered use, and today in many village schools you can see sharp-witted cockney children, with their knowledge of life in a civilized city, sharing desks with youngsters born and bred in the country and filled with the love of the countryside. Those two sets of children, who up to now

were complete strangers, are getting to know each other. Each of them has a great deal to learn from the other. They are forming firm and permanent friendships. A knowledge and understanding and harmony between town and country is being created in Britain which never existed before and which is long overdue. In that way too, on the anvil of war, a truly united nation is being hammered into shape.

Life is odd in the island these days. Sometimes it is grim and ghastly. But these stern tribulations of the British people are not a prelude to their defeat. They are not the death agony of Britain but rather the painful, terrible, but hopeful birth pangs of a new Britain. How strange it is at nights in many British cities now! Overhead is the drone of air squadrons; the bombs scream as they descend; they burst with fury; and from the deep throats of our antiaircraft guns come angry retorts. It is a bitter, brutal, bestial music. But in the intervals of silence you can hear another music. It is faint yet, and in the distance, because it belongs to the future. But it will grow louder and louder still until tyranny is overthrown and the cannonade is hushed and that other joyful music fills the whole air. It is the laughter of children and the songs of men and women and all the glad sounds of their labors as they work to build better than they did before a society in which are firmly set the temples of peace on earth and good will among men.

MOBILIZING CIVILIAN AMERICA TO WIN THE WAR

By JONATHAN DANIELS

CHANGE HAS COME to many of us in the last year. We have been called to battle stations. Social workers, especially, have been called to assume an important part in strengthening the home front. This may be a good year for the social worker and the former spectator of the Office of Civilian Defense to discuss the unfamiliar demands and responsibilities of total war. The South and New Orleans make a significant place in which to consider it.

New Orleans is one place in these United States where a man might expect an understanding of total war. Total war as it has crept out of beer halls into something which approximates a menace to mankind may seem something strange to people in other regions. But it is not necessary to have been a Confederate soldier or a Confederate soldier's son to know that there was total war long ago and that it left in this region a total memory. Most of us can remember the stories which recalled, not only the gallantry of Lee and the tough fighting of his army in Virginia, but also war at home: war where the women scraped the last flour out of the barrel; war where old men plowed the last blind mule left in disgust by the cavalry; war where belles tore up their linen petticoats for bandages; war, where often it was hardest, at home. This South is back in the Union now, and it would take an army bigger than Grant's, tougher than Sherman's, to drive us Southerners out of it. But belligerently, under all the stars and all the stripes, we should be a people who understand that the home

front is the one sure basis of victory. We know that in the South, even though we lost. We know that where it fails not all the gallantry in the world can prevail. And where war is truly total only the home front can provide the hope of victory.

I say we ought to understand that. But sometimes in the three months in which I have been in Washington trying to think always in home terms, it has not always been easy to believe. Indeed, the importance of many aspects of the home front has been frankly doubted. Even some men in civilian defense itself have asked, honestly puzzled, "What is the civilian mobilization in civilian defense?" I think it has been generally an honest question deserving an honest answer, a plain answer, unadorned with too much verbiage. The chief witness in its support gave, I think, the soundest definition in an address to America. In that speech President Roosevelt said:

There is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States—every man, woman and child—is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout the war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war. This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries, but many other creature comforts. Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility.

I know the President will not object—indeed, I know that he will agree—if I add the responsibility, not only to deny, but to do, to work. And work by civilians as volunteers in all the productive tasks of the war effort on the home front is the best definition I know of civilian mobilization. But that is a definition of its purpose. We have a right to know what is its plan. In terms of the organization of the civilian defense—the civilian warmaking program—in America, civilian mobilization in the OCD has the full over-all duty of assisting the American states and communities to organize for defense at home. They are civilian mobilization workers who organize the defense councils for all purposes. They are engaged in the activities of civilian mobilization who

set up the machinery for the recruitment of volunteers for all purposes, both the air-raid wardens and the men and women engaged in all the nonprotective services upon which in wartime may depend the home welfare as a part of the national welfare. Civilian mobilization is the whole business of the organization and recruitment of all the people in order that they may be made available for all the services, whether they be trained and supervised by military men in the protection services or by men qualified to train and direct them in terms of the economic and social aspects of the home front to which now come, before the bombers, the stresses and strains of war. That mobilization, that strengthening, is the wartime assignment held in common by the OCD, now one year old, and by the National Conference of Social Work, now in its sixty-ninth annual session.

Perhaps no country is better able, by its history, than America to understand the ways and means of civilian mobilization. Total war is not so new as Hitler; it is at least as old as America. This is not the first time in our history that victory and security for all have depended upon volunteer participation by all. Reduced to its simplest terms in the communities, total war is like nothing so much as the working and fighting together of all the people which pushed this nation from one ocean to another, made America, and gave it its tradition of destiny. If it sometimes seems as new as the bomber, it is nevertheless as old as the frontier community. Its pattern in America is closer to the equalitarian democracy of the pioneer than it is to the totalitarianism of Hitler. We possessed the qualities for it before Hitler was ever heard of. And we are a people capable of using those qualities until Hitler is done for.

I was talking not long ago to General Lewis B. Hershey, a great American, now head of the Selective Service, and he spoke very simply of the time when his mother died on a Western farm. Each night some of the neighbors came, not from across the street, but often from half across the county. They came without any suggestion of charity to cook and tend the children, to nurse the dying woman. She had gone on such journeys many times herself. And such neighborliness was nothing. It was just

America, that was all, in a time before America began, in a way, to fall apart socially because it was no longer necessary—what with cars and roads and towns and services that could be bought—to hang together, to work together. Maybe a war would not be all bad which brought that neighborliness back.

Is that civilian defense? Is that civilian mobilization? Reluctantly, I say, "No." But confidently, I also say that it is the never-quite-lost American tradition upon which the strength of the civilian effort in this war depends, the strength which in a thousand towns will make a stronger nation, the tough-muscled and stout-hearted fiber of America which fits a little awkwardly into such a fancy word as morale. It is the essence of that spirit upon which depend the whole plan and philosophy of the organized towns, states, regions, and nation in the officialdom of civilian defense. And the one thing we must never forget in Washington, which sometimes looks too much down from a distance, and in the country, which is sometimes too ready to ask for commands from the Capitol, is that civilian defense as organized in America today is a demonstration of faith in the people where the people are, by a nation which not only fights for democracy, but means it. We have been moving fast toward centralization in government during the years behind us. We know that necessity for a unified command today. But America still believes that its strength is on its earth, in its people. Behind its factories, its ships, under its planes, wherever they may be on the whole globe, both strength and victory grow, and only grow, on the home front.

On that home front is the job of every one of us, men in the OCD in Washington, men in the National Conference of Social Work, men in the regions, men in the states, men in the towns. And when I say men, I mean men and women. I mean the oldest and the youngest able to add an ounce of strength to our effort. I mean all sorts of men in big jobs and little jobs. It is the very essence of the OCD that it does not conceive of its functions as exclusive. In the best meaning of defense it is the cord which ties the country to the Capitol. It serves as a channel between the technical agencies in Washington and the willing hands in America, between the courthouse and the White House. It is

a device for securing the services the Government needs in its war efforts from eager volunteers in nearly ten thousand towns. It is also a device for giving the towns the essential plans of great agencies devoted to helping all the people to help win the war.

I hope that we have now passed through the period in which a great part of our thinking has been limited to questions of which agency should undertake which functions. The OCD works in closest coöperation with the Office of Price Administration in explaining the needs and methods of price-fixing and rationing to the country; in close coöperation with the Bureau of Industrial Conservation in encouraging a country-wide program of salvage; in close coöperation with the Office of Defense Transport, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, the Office of Facts and Figures, and all the other war agencies in Washington. The OCD serves wherever possible as the pipeline between these agencies and the communities and the great national organizations of men and women. But in the communities and the organizations we are not OCD men or ODT men or ODHWS men; we are Americans mobilizing our total effort for total victory.

And if there has been a period in which social workers have been concerned with such questions as, "What is the peculiar function of my agency? What is the war doing to my agency or to social work as a whole?" I hope that period is now over, too. The time has come to think in new terms: not "What will the war do to me?" but "What can I do to win the war?" How can social workers and social agencies speed the war effort? What new methods and new services can be devised to strengthen the community? The time has come to apply frontier ingenuity and frontier willingness to problems infinitely more vast. There is no time to build little fences among ourselves, when we must raise a great wall around our heritage of freedom.

This war is the greatest challenge American social workers have ever faced. It is a challenge to them as people, for they are men and women before they are professionals, and they must take their stand with other men and women on the home battle lines. It is a challenge to them as professionals, because if social work was formerly important, now it is vital. Almost overnight, "cases"

have become nations-at-war; "problems" have multiplied and expanded a thousandfold; "solutions" have become understandable only in terms of victory or defeat for half the world. And this war is a challenge to all social work, because on its result hang all the social gains democracy has been able to effect in 160 years.

We are in a period of swift social change—learning, within the space of a few months, to live in a different world. Last year we saw total war abroad in terms of blitzkrieg and bombing. And we saw it in such terms at a time when we were opulent in economic security. Last year we thought that even before war we were making remarkable preparations for war. Indeed, some of us were unduly impressed by our arms production for ourselves and those nations which have since become our allies. Actually, the fact is that in 1941 we as a people took more consumer goods—food and automobiles and clothes and gadgets—for ourselves than ever before in the history of America, ever before in the history of any nation in the world. It seemed a wonderful process of eating our cake and having it too, of arming and indulging ourselves at the same time. It is no wonder that in such a fat time we thought of total war as total danger. We thought of civilian defense as defense of the civilian. We had not begun to fight, we had not begun to sacrifice. Sometimes now we seem not even to have begun to understand that total war for the victors must be total effort. Sometimes we talked so much about defense that we seemed to believe—two years after the Germans passed the Maginot Line—that there was still meaning in defense alone as safety, as hope of victory, in this mammoth modern war.

We know that defense is important. We must protect ourselves; we must not permit our troops to be drawn back to this continent for defensive purposes. But we are beginning to understand the social meaning of total civilian defense effort in modern warfare. I looked recently at a list of a round dozen prohibitions on the manufacture of a wide variety of goods we were accustomed to buying, without stint or hindrance, a few months ago. We have been aware of the orders. We have learned a new respect both for our tires and for our toothpaste tubes. We can

have cuffs on our trousers only until we wear out our pants. Individually, the items seem more serious or less, but together they add up, not only to increasing self-denial on the home front, but to serious American needs on the war fronts around the world. We had price controls because inflation, which should be one of the four horsemen of war and apocalypse, already was growing in New York and Milledgeville, Georgia, and every other American town, because we were in there bidding with more income for less and less goods. And that is not all that has happened or will happen to Milledgeville, New Orleans, and New York. The tires wear down, not only to the tubes, but to the past. A nation which Henry Ford transformed in almost every respect of its living sometimes seems moving back to that horse-and-buggy age at the very time when lack of transportation may actually mean less workers where essential jobs are to be done.

Lack of housing now, so far as war production is concerned, may be as serious as having houses blown down by bombs. One industrial city lost several hundred workers because there were no houses for them to live in. Paul McNutt, as chairman of the War Manpower Commission, tells us that we shall need 10,500,000 additional skilled and lesser-skilled men in war industries, and it is likely that 2,000,000 young men are about to be removed from the labor market to the armed forces. These additional millions who will come to the industrial cities—where will they come from? Where will they be trained? Where will they live? How will they ride to work? Sickness, accident, may be as serious to production as machine-gun casualties. Time lost from war industries in December, 1941, due to illness alone, equaled enough man-hours to build two heavy cruisers, 400 bombers, 3,200 light tanks. Two to three million women, we may confidently expect, will be employed in industry by the end of 1942, 4,000,000 by the end of 1943. Many of these employed women will be mothers of children under fifteen. You know, better than I, what a program of daycare for children that will necessitate, how the existing programs of schools, churches, playgrounds, settlement houses, and boys' and girls' organizations will have to be expanded to take care of the leisure time of children of school age. In the

first year of the war, delinquency among boys in Great Britain increased nearly 50 percent. Can that happen here? In Detroit our Negro industrial workers riot with another of our minority groups. Yet we say that this is a war to realize democracy for the people of the world and that freedom for all is our great objective. This war for freedom can be won only if there is American unity, and American unity cannot and must not remain an abstract term. We must begin to interpret and work for unity among all the peoples making up the American population.

That is a challenge to the social worker. And it comes not in terms of reform or uplift. It is war! Decent housing is an instrument of warfare, when the absence of it means a continuous turnover in the workers in shipyards that extend the long life lines of the United Nations to every ocean and every continent in the world. Day nurseries are as essential as materials for planes, if they mean that woman power can be added to man power in airplane factories. A bad water supply in Texarkana is not a merely local problem, for it might begin an epidemic which would be more serious to production than a hundred fleets of enemy bombers above our coasts.

It is easy to see the dramatic problems in the dramatically crowded towns. They are not limited to them. The quietest towns, most remote from any signs or sounds of war, will share the scarcities of goods, the rationing, the new and extending rules, the necessary decline in living standards, at a time when the products of all our machines, all our fields, must be shared with the world. Such towns will share the other strains of war too. Their doctors are going to war, and their nurses. Indeed, though efforts are being made to prevent it, some little towns in the South where doctors and nurses are scarce may lose them more rapidly than cities where earnings make military commissions less attractive. Southern ladies in the small-town mornings may not only have to give up their coca-colas, but also the services of the jacketed boys who were ready to run from the curb with every conceivable domestic and pharmaceutical service. The local repair man's skills may be needed far away on devices more essential than lawn mowers and washing machines. The cooks may

leave faster, and the yard boys. Country towns may slip back to the country of long ago, and the American spirit may be the better for it.

To cushion these shocks, to ease these stresses and strains, to keep a country strong and efficient in the face of almost overwhelming difficulties, to build national strength out of trouble and danger and shortage—that is the grandest problem in social work that a nation has ever been given. It is more than that: it is an indispensable requirement for victory. The skilled social worker is, therefore, a skilled war worker. His services are needed now more than ever. The local defense council needs his coöperation, the community needs his planning. We must avoid the dislocation that occurred in England when welfare workers left their jobs to go into other war services.

England found, by bitter experience, that her war effort could not continue with less social work—instead, that it needed a vastly greater amount. And the number of trained social workers was pitifully inadequate to the need. It is one of the strange signs of the times that our whole population has come suddenly to understand the vital necessity of social work, and that 6,000,000 of our citizens have already volunteered to fill the need for service in health, housing, recreation, conservation, transportation, and other community problems.

You may have been worried over the great number of untrained workers coming from the OCD volunteer offices into your highly specialized fields. You have recognized that your own numbers are not sufficient to move all the social machinery of community mobilization, and yet you have asked, "What of the standards we have upheld so zealously for so many years? Will they survive this infiltration? We are professionals; we have been trained long and arduously. We are less than a hundred thousand; will the millions of volunteers, needed though they are, swallow us up? Will they lose, with their well-meaning fumbling, all we have been fighting for?"

I sympathize with your fears, and yet I do not entirely share them. This is a frontier situation; it calls for frontier ingenuity and flexibility. You will have to train and direct the volunteers.

You will have to do better with less to work with. Whether or not standards are lowered will largely be up to you: whether you train the volunteers, whether you coöperate closely with the defense council in organizing the community program, whether you spur on the laggard councils to meet the demands of the situation. I think you will find the councils glad of your help. The OCD is not a device for setting up new local agencies to oust old ones. The volunteers are not a tidal wave to drown standards. In truth, this war is not a threat to professional standards but, rather, a challenge to them.

You have often said that you thought the communities were never sufficiently involved in social work. Now you have the whole country involved in social work and needing social work in order to win through to survival. The ranks of potential social workers have been increased many fold. Social work has suddenly been dramatized.

I do not fear that you will fail to meet that challenge. And I have less fear than I might, because I have faith in the people who are coming into your work as volunteers to help win the war at home. You may find them better than you think. You may find that their eager intelligence puts you on your toes. They don't want to lower standards. They want to make the community strong. They want, at all costs, to win the war and to make whatever sacrifices and self-denials are necessary to win it.

There is a sound of marching in this land. And it is not only the marching of soldiers. It comes from the old, lazy, undisciplined towns, from the cities where men were comfortable enough to afford the luxury of sloppy government. It comes from a people who have learned, as the generals had to learn, that defense is not going to win this war. They know that nothing but striking power directed in determination can win this war. And they begin to understand, in a world which has talked too much about machines, that strength is people and the sum of all the people, all the towns. They know that a sloppy defense council is almost as dangerous as a carelessly assembled fighter plane. They know that they can save materials out of old lavishness and that there are hardly any among us who cannot add some useful

labor out of old leisure. They are working—more and more of them every day—and the civilian defense tasks which they do are more and more related to the war effort. Of course, the old cry comes up, "What can we do?" But the answer comes also from millions of Americans who are doing. The answer comes from councils of social agencies. The answer comes from well-organized defense councils which are facing, where they can best see them, their own war problems which in the country as a whole add up to the home front problems of the whole land. They move, but they only begin to move in terms of the American procession to its duty, which we shall everywhere need if we are to win this war. Increasingly, indeed, as more and more men are needed in the armed forces, in the productive effort, as more and more jobs must be done on the home front in preserving community security under new strains, in saving and salvaging materials, in meeting the economic stresses, the old American question in defense begins to change.

Rapidly, I think, it must become, not a query, which has often been querulous, but a challenge.

"What can we do?" becomes more and more a question from people and places which have not even looked around them where they are, which is where they must serve America.

"Can we do it?" is the more important question which, under the impacts of war, must come as a challenge from Americans in all their organized communities.

There are only two answers to that question—defeat or victory. It is not easily answered. Our spending rises. Our needs for man power increase. Not all the bad news has yet come in. We cannot count the proportions of our self-denial now. No calendar has been printed on which any man can yet mark the days of this war. We only know that it lies ahead of us, not only in Iceland, in the British Isles, in India and Australia, but where we are. And at last we shall win it—or we shall lose it—there.

The home front is the home town. The home front is our town. In a people's war the responsibilities of service for victory come straight down to each of us and to the hard job, the dirty job, the long job, the job left over by the departure of the stronger

and more skilled. The home front holds not only the morale of the soldier far away, but the financial security of the nation, the strength that binds our hearts together. Also our destiny is there. The destiny of our social program and the destiny of America. We shall go down Main Street into a new darkness or a new hope for mankind.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN A DEMOCRACY

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER

AS SOCIAL WORKERS we went all out for democracy at our 1940 meetings, national and state. We made a lot of speeches, reiterating more or less eloquently our rightful belief that if democracy is to survive, its blessings must reach all the people. Since then we have stood forth on our platforms as the protagonists of those people who have enjoyed few of the material advantages of a democratic form of government. It occurs to me that we no longer need to proclaim our adherence to the principles of democracy on which, so far as I know, no one has ever challenged us. But it is time for us to take a good hard look at ourselves and our individual practice of democracy in our community and professional relationships—time, I think, for a “therapeutic pause.”

And so I suggest that we take a therapeutic pause in our word-spinning on the social worker's faith in democracy and begin to examine, each for himself, how he practices democracy in the daily performance of his social work job, in his daily contacts with his clients, his associates, and the public. For that's what all the high-sounding principles come down to—you and I practicing democracy in what Dr. Alexis Carrel calls the “small laboratory of our private lives.”

It's a curious thing that of late we social workers, conditioned though we are by the case work philosophy of the individual personality, have been thinking and talking about ourselves as though we were like the Christian soldiers—“all one body we.” We

seem to think that because we all are engaged in what we hope are good works that we are possessed of an affinity that makes us politically potent. We are urged to "bring pressure" and what not, all of it sounding vaguely as though we were as compact as a political party.

Now we don't like it a bit when other people talk about us as though we were all alike. We are quick to explain how different we are, one from another. But certainly this tendency to think of ourselves as an entity explains our concern with our corporate rather than our individual practice of democracy. And again maybe it's just escape. I leave it to the psychologists.

Then there's this thing we call "social work" and our tendency to talk about it as though it had three dimensions, could be seen and felt, even heard. I want to recall something said in the *Survey* not too long ago by Dr. Neva Deardorff and as good today as it was then. She said:

We often speak of social work as if it were some sort of corporate body, or at least collectivity, which could now, as a unit, be held accountable. Such is a mythological idea. Social work is as yet a somewhat indefinite set of concerns of a good many groups of people organized in a most bewildering fashion, with geography, type of work, historical accident, sectarian allegiance, cultural background, personal temperament of leaders and other bases that make them fractions with anything but common denominators.

The divisive factors are very often quite as powerful as the unifying factors. It is only in the last two or three decades that anyone has expected social agencies to have any collective opinions, though some of the agencies in American communities are well past a hundred years old.

Then she analyzes the auspices of voluntary social work in New York. She finds 62 percent of the agencies definitely sectarian, 38 percent nonsectarian, and adds, "the non-sectarian agencies are not without their own type of group alliances of one kind or another." Then she goes on:

That means, I take it, that the persons connected with the agencies of these several sectarian and non-sectarian characters have diverse ways of thinking about life and its problems, about forms of social, including governmental, organization, about the behavior of clients

and about many other aspects of individual and group life, and especially about what constitutes acceptable solutions of problems posed for their consideration. Taken as a whole they probably constitute a cross section of the country's thinking and belief about what could and can be done in the field of social welfare. But the very fact that they are a cross section should warn us that they are now far from uniform or homogeneous in their beliefs and should make us more keenly aware of the nature of any task that requires the concerting of opinion on welfare questions and the participation of agencies or their staff in matters outside the immediate agency program.

Of course, I know that in the past ten years or so there has been a strong movement among councils of social agencies to effect greater cohesion among their constituent agencies. I do not know how successful this has been in bringing about concerted opinion or action in matters of social welfare that stray very far from broad generalizations, but the record leads me to the conclusion that the contribution of corporate social work to the preservation of democracy will continue to be an affirmation of principle. For more than that we must look to the individual and his personal practice.

After seeing workers in all walks of social work life, from Maine to California, I am inclined to agree with the definition of the late Dr. Frankwood Williams, who said: "Social workers are a large group of people with a high statistical incidence of decency." I'm sure I don't know of any other blanket of definition that we all can get under at once. It seems to me that, realistically speaking, anything else is class consciousness.

I am not belittling the American Association of Social Workers and its steady fight for standards of professional education and training; and I am not belittling the vigorous young union movement; and certainly I am not belittling that body of people, far outnumbering those two organized groups, that the public believes to be social workers because they actually are doing the lion's share of social work in this democracy of ours. But it is because social workers have such infinite diversity that I believe that our responsibility to democracy will continue to be expressed, not by corporate or professional resolutions, but by individual conviction, each for himself, each in his own sphere, each according to

his own lights. And I am convinced that each of these little candles casts a long beam, constituting all together a beacon that nothing can black out.

Occasionally I have speculated on what the course of social work in this country would have been if it had developed within the framework of our democratic form of government—if, way back yonder, the leadership, dedication, and wisdom that went into establishing our private social agencies had been directed toward developing the public services. But the leaders in those days would not accept the limitations of performance imposed by the social values and beliefs held by most of their contemporaries. They refused to abide by the expression of the majority in such matters and they set up social work as a private enterprise outside the basic democratic process. They were radicals and reformers, and it has taken democracy a hundred years to catch up with them. I'm not so sure that it's caught up even yet.

I do not mean to suggest that the theory of these pioneers of testing and demonstrating was not sound, but I wonder what the result would have been if, instead of functioning on the side, they had bored from within. Be that as it may, I think that we have inherited from our social work godparents a pretty strong streak of independence of the restraints imposed by practical democracy. It explains a lot. Until very recently we had two social welfare camps in this country; one within the political framework, one without. And rarely the twain did meet. They still are not exactly embracing each other.

And then came the justly famous depression, and almost without warning the private camp found its methods, and in a sense its job, which it had developed in the relatively protected milieu of private support, tumbled into the great, hot, dusty arena where democracy operates. I mean politics.

Social workers of my generation didn't know very much about politics—and don't yet. And what we knew we didn't like so well—and don't yet. When one of us strayed off into the public field we thought of him as an erring brother, or as a sort of missionary. Then the inexorable events of the thirties took a hand.

Little by little most of us have accepted the cold hard facts

that social work, in any comprehensive, democratic sense, must function increasingly from now on within the framework of our political institutions, subject to political storms and stresses like any other activity of government; that if it is to progress in the direction toward which, over the years, we have pointed it, its methods and philosophy must be understood and accepted by the great common people.

For a long time we have been interpreting or publicizing our particular programs of social work, but I believe that few among us would claim that the American people—the electorate—know what our kind of social work means or what social workers are trying to do. I'm not going to tell you how to make our kind of social work acceptable to the American people. Better men than I am have tried that. But I have one small suggestion to make which stems from fairly wide observation. It's a "don't." *Don't* suspect the motives of everyone whose authority stems from political preferment, from the functioning of our democratic system.

It is an amazing commentary on our proclaimed acceptance of the democratic principle that almost anyone who comes to public office in our field by the political process is immediately suspect. Do we express the confidence in him that begets public confidence? On the contrary, we watch him like a hawk, and just let his foot slip once . . . If he were a client we would at least withhold judgment and give the fellow a chance, but since he's a colleague we lift a superior eyebrow and say something about "playing politics." Now superior dignity has its place, but I'm not sure that in a democracy it gets social work any forwarder in public understanding.

To put it bluntly, it seems to me that some of us, while passionately affirming our faith in democracy, are extremely critical of its practical workings in our political system. We are inclined to gather up and go home from the party when we can't call the tunes. I'm not saying that we should dance to every tune that's called, but I firmly believe that we should stay at the party even if it gets a little bit rough.

While I'm being blunt I might as well be a little blunter and bring out in the open that species of mankind who happily is not

often found in social work but who, when identified, should be stepped on—promptly. I mean the professional snob. I maintain that snobbery has no place in a profession that talks about its responsibility to democracy.

When I hear social workers in big, socially equipped cities expounding theories of practice for all of us as if social work were all of a piece, from Eastport, Maine, to Key West, Florida, I want to ask them how they would cope with the social problems generated by the push mines of Rasmer's Holler or with the economic and social problem presented by the smooth-mouthed mule. I assure you that both are of the stuff with which social work in this democracy of ours must reckon.

Now perhaps all this—our attitudes toward each other—hasn't anything to do with social work in a democracy, and again perhaps it has. But let's turn to our practice of democracy in our relations with the public.

Most of us who are now getting gray in front cut our professional teeth in the relative protection of private agencies where the only public we had to reckon with was our own specialized constituency. When people who weren't our contributors called us visionaries, and even radicals, we called them ignorant. The body politic was just a couple of words to us and we didn't bother very much, except on paper, with the opinion of the great common people; in fact, we gradually became a little superior to it. We just went along, secure in our good intentions and in our presumed leadership and left the body politic behind—like the bundles in Mary Richmond's story.

Do you remember that one, the story of the traveler setting out on a long journey who loaded himself with all sorts of equipment against every contingency? But the road was smooth, the day was fine, and one by one he discarded his bundles—his blanket, his umbrella, his provisions, everything. Then the good road ended, the weather turned cold and stormy. Night fell, and he had neither food nor covering, and he remembered the bundles he had left by the roadside. So he turned back and wet, cold, and hungry, began to retrieve all the things he hadn't needed when the weather was fine and the going good. Most of us, I imagine, have left a few

professional bundles behind that now we wish we had, and one of them, I suspect, is better understanding of the body politic. Perhaps if we understood the body politic better we would trust it more—and perhaps by the same token it would have more trust in us. Perhaps we do know best what is good for society, but forced feeding of our knowledge is scarcely democratic, is it?

We talk a great deal of interpretation as a means of gaining public understanding of our purposes and methods. I think the public must get awfully tired of being interpreted to. I wonder if we wouldn't do well to take a therapeutic pause on interpretation, while we examine how the public interprets *us*—and why. Interpretation, like most things in a democracy, works two ways.

I find that interpretation means different things in different places. In New York, for example, I'm afraid its measure of success is in getting something favorable about the agency into the newspapers, preferably the *New York Times*. I don't know why it is the *Times*, unless because it is read by key people. It must be wonderful to be a key person. But outside of few big cities I find that interpretation means more of a personal expression, a face-to-face relationship between worker and public. In fact, I've become convinced that individually or collectively the public's conception of social work, the degree of understanding that it has of our purposes, our methods—yes, of *us*—stems from contact with some individual social worker, past or present, dead or alive. We *are* social work to persons we encounter in our communities, whether clients or bank presidents, and what we do and say, the way we do and say it, has influence beyond reckoning in determining public opinion and its reaction—even on election day—to the programs we represent.

During the years when relief and all its tribe of alphabetical kin were this country's biggest public activity, we—all of us, Mr. and Mrs. Public, you and I—got into the habit of talking about our work in terms of figures, thousands and hundreds of thousands and millions. We became very figure-minded. We averaged 'em up and broke 'em down. We made 'em roll over and jump through. And in all the shenanigan we somehow failed to keep it clear that these figures were people, flesh-and-blood people, lucky

and unlucky, smart and dumb—even as you and I. Even when we ourselves have kept a sense of the people behind the figures we haven't troubled too much to get our feeling across to Mr. and Mrs. Public. Our professional objectivity has somehow obscured our natural warmth. And warmth is something that Mr. and Mrs. Public understand, whether they understand objectivity or not.

We must remember that social workers didn't invent social work. Old Grandma Public invented it. She called it charity and practiced it with warmth if not with objectivity. Actually, about all we've done to Grandma's charity is to give it a college education. Social work is still people, and I am convinced that our interpretation of those things we must hold fast to in times like these must be interpretation of people, not of problems or of programs. If the public—that great faceless entity we all talk about but never see—can realize the people behind our program we'll keep the program all right, the substance if not the form.

In our individual examination of our responsibility in a democracy we need to take an especially hard look at ourselves as interpreters; for we're all interpreting for good or ill, whether we know it or not, every time we open our mouths. Each for himself, we must take ourselves apart and honestly examine ourselves as interpreters, our sins of omission and commission; and then we need to find out—perhaps here a little group thinking is indicated—just what we are trying to do in this whole business of interpreting. What, actually, are we interpreting? Is it the institution of social work, a method, a philosophy, the agency we happen to be working for, a policy that somebody thought was a good idea at the time? And what are we interpreting for? Is it to get more money? I don't believe so, but I sometimes wonder. And whom are we interpreting to? Is it mass understanding we're after, or just the "key people"? Sometimes I think that we are most concerned with interpreting to each other.

Don't think there are quick, easy answers to these questions. If there were easy answers I'd know them—and I don't. What I've really given you is a thought project for long winter evenings.

In these last few years we have erected a pyramid of administration for our public social services that outpyramids the pyramids

of Egypt. Its apex is in Washington, and it widens out through forty-eight states and 4,000 counties. And where is its base? On what, finally, does it rest? I'll tell you. It rests in the local communities, in your home town and mine, it rests on the day-to-day work of the girls and boys who travel the roads and climb the stairs and deal with Old Man Jones and with the Widow Smith and her five children and a very dubious lodger. For it is for Old Man Jones and the Widow Smith that the whole vast structure exists, and it is in service to them that it must justify itself. And who is the indispensable person in the whole complicated business? I'll tell you that too. It's the home visitor, the overworked, underpaid, harassed home visitor.

I'm not belittling Washington or the state welfare departments. But make no mistake about it, social work is not in Washington, nor is it in Baton Rouge, or Austin or Jackson or Montgomery. It's way down the line where the home visitor meets the Widow Smith. And social service is what happens between those two. That is the social worker's professional responsibility, and he meets it where he is.

Is not the same thing true of our responsibility to democracy? I don't know what the spirit of democracy is, but I suspect that it's something indefinable in the minds and hearts of each one of us. And because that something is peculiarly individual I believe that the social worker's responsibility to democracy is not met by making speeches or even by listening to speeches. It is met by letting that indefinable something inside of us shine out in all the give-and-take of everyday life. We don't strengthen democracy by passing resolutions; we strengthen it by practicing it out of our own faith and the conviction of our own souls, by practicing it exactly where we are, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. That is our responsibility, and it rests on us, not as an organized body or as a profession, but as individual human beings.

AFTER VICTORY—WHAT?

By *VERA MICHELES DEAN*

IN DISCUSSIONS of war and peace, from New York to San Francisco, from New Orleans to St. Paul, many people still talk as if they believe that sooner or later a bell will ring: then war will be over, and peace will have begun. But no such bell will ring, nor will there be a clear dividing line between war and peace. One of the most tragic mistakes that the Allies made in 1918 was to think that, because an armistice had been signed, war was at an end. It is true that military operations did end with the armistice. But the war continued right on after 1918—on the economic front, the social front, the psychological front—all shaping up a new Armageddon. Now, in the perspective of a quarter of a century, we realize that the Allies won the war, but lost the peace—and lost the peace because they refused to take responsibility for postwar reconstruction. If we are to avoid repeating the experience of 1918, we must realize right now that this war is not worth fighting, that the sacrifices we are all being called upon to make are not worth making, unless we pledge ourselves here and now to see that our war efforts do not remain sterile, but serve as the prelude for responsible peacemaking.

At a time when war rages on all the continents and in all the oceans of the world, it may seem premature to talk of peace. Yet already the future peace is being forged on the anvil of war. All over the globe, wherever people fight or silently resist foreign domination, they think and talk about the new order of things that may emerge out of the struggle. Many of the problems whose solution has been postponed until after the war must be solved right now as part of the war effort. The strategy of postwar recon-

struction is inextricably linked with the strategy of winning the war. That is why we must shape our plans for the postwar world now, in the midst of the conflict. Otherwise, we may be as mentally unprepared for peace as we have been mentally unprepared for war.

While we understand some of the mistakes committed by the peacemakers of Versailles, we do not yet have complete answers to the questions raised in 1919. We are still seeking to discover how we can provide free access for all countries to the raw materials and markets of the world on terms of equality. We are still studying the possibility of improving the relationship between backward and advanced countries—a relationship we call imperialism—in such a way as to make the backward countries advanced, and raise their standard of living. We still wonder how we can integrate Germany into the European community of nations, so that Europe—and the whole world—may benefit by the talents of the German people without having to fear their militaristic ambitions. In the same way, we wonder how we can enlist the peaceful coöperation of the Japanese in the fruitful development of Asia. We are still at a loss to know how to prevent the recurrence of wars. But we have learned many of the lessons of the peace we lost, and are becoming increasingly determined not to lose the peace after this war through slothfulness and irresponsibility.

Many people, in recent years, have ridiculed the slogan under which the United States fought the First World War—the slogan of “making the world safe for democracy.” Yet this slogan was noble in its implications, and did genuinely stir the emotions of millions of men and women. What we must deplore is not the slogan itself, but the fact that, once the war was won, the Western democracies failed to translate this slogan into living reality. Now we know, from bitter experience, that a world which does not provide a majority of its inhabitants with a minimum standard of existence cannot long be safe for political democracy. It should not be our aim to impose the political institutions familiar to the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations on the rest of the world, which may be unprepared for them by historic, economic, or social conditions. Our purpose should be to perfect

the political institutions of democracy, which have fostered the fine flowering of man's spirit in many countries and in many continents, and adapt them to the social and economic conditions of a mass-production era all over the world. We should not merely keep to ourselves the privileges won for us by our political and industrial achievements. We should share them with other people.

In looking forward to postwar reconstruction we shall have to take into account the seismic changes wrought in the international landscape by war and revolution. So far as Asia is concerned, a victory of the United Nations would redound to the benefit, not of the Western powers, but of those Asiatic peoples who are either already fighting Japan, or may fight it in the future—notably China and India. This is legitimate and proper. It will be impossible, after the war, for Britain, Holland, the United States, and France to claim special privileges and influence in the Far East while denying them to Japan. Today we are witnessing the passing of nineteenth-century imperialism in the Orient. What we must do there is to fight for the liberation of the Asiatic peoples from the domination, not only of the Japanese, but also of the Western powers. We must remember that in the Far East we have by no means yet won the undivided and loyal support of native populations. China has proved a steadfast ally of the United Nations. But in Burma, in Malaya, in the Dutch East Indies, in India, millions of people have not yet achieved either a standard of living or a level of political consciousness which would make them feel that they had a clear choice between Japan, on the one hand, and the Western powers on the other. To many of them Japanese rule—although it will probably prove far less humane than that of Britain and the United States—is merely a choice between two forms of foreign domination. To win the support of the Asiatic peoples, the Western powers will have to do more than invite them to fight for restoration of the *status quo*. Only on a basis of equal rights can Europe and the United States achieve peaceful and fruitful collaboration with Asia after the war.

In Europe, too, new forces are in the making. Some people in this country have been troubled, rather than gratified, by Russia's resistance against the Nazis. They have said: "What will happen

to the Western world if Russia wins the war? Won't we just be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire—out of Nazism into Communism?" If Russia does defeat Germany, it will unquestionably wield great influence over the peace settlement. This will be due, not to the effectiveness of Communist propaganda, which has been relatively ineffective in industrialized Western countries, but to the fact that Russia will have demonstrated that it had the courage, stamina, and power to resist Germany. Those who do not like the Russian system will not be able to conjure it away by mere denunciation, or by witch-hunting of local Communists. If we do not like the Russian plans for a postwar order, that is all the more reason for formulating, right now, a postwar program in democratic terms that could arouse the enthusiasm and enlist the support both of Russia and of Europe's conquered peoples. As a matter of fact, by the time the war is over, changes within Russia, and within the other United Nations, may have brought us all much closer together than could possibly have been anticipated in 1939.

There are also many people who worry about the future of Germany. Some, especially those in Europe who have suffered from the effects of Nazi conquest, demand that Germany should be severely punished, that the German state should be dismembered, and that the German people should be rendered harmless for generations to come. Yet if there is one lesson we must learn from the lost peace, it is that the world cannot isolate Germany, any more than it succeeded in excluding Russia. To dismember Germany would be merely to re-create a state of things in which the Germans would be constantly striving to unite under some new Hitler. It would also throw Germany back into the Middle Ages, from which, to the grief of the whole world, it has not yet politically emerged, even though it has most effectively utilized the industrial and military techniques of the twentieth century. Nor is it practicable, even if it seemed desirable, to exterminate the German people. What we must try to do is to establish international control of Germany, and of Europe as a whole, during the transition period that is bound to follow the war.

Such international control, administered by all the United Na-

tions, and not merely by the great powers, would serve three main purposes. First, it would protect the Germans against the revenge of the conquered peoples—and we must remember that fear of revenge has been used by Nazi propagandists to goad the Germans into continuing the war effort. Second, it would permit reorganization of the countries conquered by the Germans, without permitting them to sink into a state of anarchy and revolution which might otherwise reduce Europe to chaos. And third, it would make it possible for the United Nations to undertake orderly rehabilitation of the entire Continent, including Germany. One of our first tasks, once the "Cease fire!" has sounded, will be to feed, clothe, and provide medical aid for millions of men, women, and children, *including the Germans*, who for many years have been suffering great hardships and privations of mind and body. Only when this transition period has brought some degree of stability to Germany, and to Europe as a whole, will it be advisable to hold a peace conference, at which long-term territorial and economic problems can be discussed in an atmosphere free from war fever and hatred.

We must have no illusions about the degree of hatred aroused in Europe by Nazi methods of conquest, especially in countries which had remained neutral during the last war, such as Holland and Norway, and have now experienced German domination for the first time. Throughout Europe, from Norway to Greece, from France to Czechoslovakia, a vast silent front is astir, along which millions of men, women, and even children are resisting consolidation of Hitler's rule. In these countries is brewing a great revolution which bears in it the seeds of reconstruction, not only of Europe, but of the world. What is this revolution? In 1939, on the eve of war, the peoples of Europe, like ourselves, feared war above all; and, like ourselves, they were ready to make many compromises—at the expense of other people—rather than become involved in a conflict with Germany. Yet the moment the peoples of Europe were conquered, they stopped being afraid of war. Instead, they became afraid of peace. For the peoples of Europe could have peace at any time—peace on Hitler's terms. The one thing Hitler wants is to pacify Europe, so that he can

consolidate his "New Order," and make the Continent impregnable to assault by the United Nations. But the conquered peoples have learned that life is not worth living if it has to be lived in slavery; and that property is not worth holding if it has to be held at the toleration of a foreign conqueror.

Today, in Europe, the struggle given up by armed soldiers has been resumed by unarmed civilians, the unknown heroes of the silent front. Why do these people continue to resist Hitler, enduring sufferings that our imagination cannot even encompass? They are carrying on this unequal struggle because they understand that Hitler's so-called New Order is a dead end for Europe, and a dead end for the world. Even if Hitler should win a complete victory, he would be unable to reconstruct Europe because his New Order is based on two concepts which are unacceptable to any civilized human being. Hitler's New Order is based, first, on the concept of the "master race," under which all non-German peoples would be condemned for eternity to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water for their German overlords. The second concept is that all men are either corrupt or corruptible, that they can be bribed, or coerced, or frightened into submitting to any indignity that the Nazis, and the puppet rulers installed by the Nazis, may prescribe. These two concepts have been rejected by the conquered peoples. By their resistance, they have magnificently demonstrated that most men and women are neither corrupt nor corruptible, that most human beings, when in the hour of mortal danger, discover in themselves untapped reserves of courage, integrity, and loyalty.

However, while the peoples of conquered countries reject Hitler's New Order, which they recognize as the most ancient and crude kind of imperialism, they have no desire to go back to the old disorder of 1939, which proved pregnant with wars and revolutions. They have no desire to restore a parliamentary system distorted and undermined by personal ambitions and local conflicts. They have no desire to restore an economic system which had failed to provide a minimum standard of existence for millions of human beings, especially in still undeveloped areas like the Balkans, Asia, and Latin America. They have no desire to recap-

ture the spirit of cynicism and fatigue which had come to be associated with the "lost generation." They want to move forward, not backward. And they are looking to the United States for leadership and initiative in this march toward the future.

We may well be staggered by the immensity and complexity of the task of postwar reconstruction. Some people are dismayed because, in looking back at history, they see all human relations in terms of an endless struggle for power, and fear that we shall be unable to reconstruct the world on any basis except that of power politics. It is, of course, true that a struggle for power is constantly going on among human beings. This is an entirely natural thing, and we should not create for a moment the illusion that the end of military hostilities would usher in a golden era in which the use of power would be excluded. But we should also not jump to the conclusion that power is in itself evil. Power intelligently and responsibly used can be a good and valuable thing. We would all welcome the use of power to improve human welfare. The great tragedy is that, in the past, we have often been irresponsible about the use of the power that, by a combination of fortunate circumstances, has been placed in the hands of the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. What we must hope for is that, after the war, we can use the power now devoted to the destructive purposes of war for the constructive purpose of rebuilding a new world.

In facing the tasks of reconstruction, however, we should be very frank with ourselves as to the limits of practical action. It is good to dream dreams and see visions of a better world. But we should not arouse expectations that cannot be realized or we shall be merely courting the kind of frustration and disillusionment that followed the peace of Versailles. We must not expect miracles from the peacemakers. International relations are, in essence, relations between human beings. We can no more hope to reach final solutions of international problems than we can reach final solutions of problems within the family, or the local community, or the national state. No sooner do we settle one set of problems than another set arises. There can be no such thing as permanent peace, or complete order, except in prisons or ceme-

teries. And that is not the kind of peace and order that free people want. As long as there is life, there are bound to be conflicts and frictions between men and between nations. That is why it may be misleading to talk about "a just and durable peace," as if any arrangement between human beings, once it has been achieved, can be indefinitely perpetuated. No arrangement can be regarded as wholly just by all nations; nor will it endure for any length of time in the exact form in which it may have been reached at a given moment. The most we can hope for are periodic compromises between the conflicting interests of many nations. It should not dismay us at all to live in a changing world. What would be disturbing would be to be condemned to live in a "frozen" world, where no changes whatever were permitted. Our task is not to prevent all change, but to see to it that conflicts—which are bound to occur—will be settled by peaceful means, not by resort to war.

There are also some people who believe that all they have to do in order to assure postwar reconstruction is to draw up a detailed constitution of world government, in twenty-five articles and ten addenda, and then rest on their laurels. It is, of course, impossible to predict what kind of international machinery may seem most effective at the end of the war. What we must remember is that any piece of machinery is only as good as the will of the people who make it work. The League of Nations, on paper, was a good piece of machinery. If the League failed to prevent a world conflagration, it was not because the blueprint was faulty, but because all the old pre-League prejudices and hostilities had been welded into this new machinery, and hampered its operation at every turn.

What we need most of all today is not a detailed blueprint for a new world organization, but a new philosophy of relations between men and between nations which would put life into whatever piece of machinery may be at hand when war is over. This new philosophy of life is emerging out of the war itself. We are discovering that, even to survive, we must not merely act for our own benefit and protection, but collaborate with others throughout the world who share our faith. The machinery of international collaboration is being forged right now in London and

Chungking, in Washington and Moscow. Today we are pooling men, raw materials, munitions, ships, to win the war. Tomorrow we must learn to pool our joint resources and our energies to win the peace.

A program of postwar reconstruction based on these general premises might include the following seven points:

1. The United Nations should proclaim that the total war in which they are engaged has, as its first and foremost objective, the liberation of all peoples—including the Germans, Italians, and Japanese—from military dictatorship and the rule of arbitrary violence based on the concept of the "master race."

The emphasis should be placed on liberation, a dynamic, forward-looking movement, and not merely on survival, which has negative implications. If all we can do is survive, we shall have little impetus left for rebuilding a shattered world. But, in proclaiming a war of liberation, we must realize that only men who are truly free themselves can truly free others. We must free ourselves from our prejudices, our inner conflicts, our intolerance toward minorities in our midst, before we can offer democracy to others as a pattern for their own future. It would avail us little if, after having defeated the efforts of Germany and Japan to set themselves up as master races, we should seek, in turn, to assume a master-race attitude. As the French poet and aviator, Saint Exupéry, has said with fine humility in his *Flight to Arras*: "The real task is to succeed in setting man free by making him master of himself. . . . We must give before we can receive, and build before we can inhabit."

2. The United Nations should declare that, since they seek no territorial aggrandizement, consideration of territorial questions in disputed areas should be postponed until total victory over the Axis powers.

The United States and Britain have already declared, in the Atlantic Charter, that they have no territorial aims in this war. But we have not, as yet, a Pacific Charter, and the peoples of Asia are rightly questioning the ultimate purposes of the Western powers in the Far East. Stalin has indicated that Russia wants no new territory after the war, yet doubt persists in the minds of

Russia's neighbors regarding the war aims of the Kremlin. These doubts and questions play into the hands of Axis propagandists, and should receive a public airing, instead of being relegated to the files of Foreign Offices.

3. The United Nations should proclaim the right of peoples in economically backward regions to seek political independence, and undertake to give these regions all assistance in their power to achieve this goal by peaceful means, on a basis of racial equality.

The investment in democracy that the American people has made in the Philippines, by seeking to raise the standard of living and literacy of the Filipinos, and promising them independence at a specified date, has brought rich dividends in terms of Filipino loyalty. So has the sympathy of the United States for China's struggle to achieve equality and maintain its territorial integrity. This trend should be carried forward in India, in other parts of Asia, in Latin America, in the Balkans. We should not merely tolerate people who are unlike us in color, creed, or economic and social condition; we should actively collaborate with them, on a basis of equality, in rebuilding the world, not only for our own benefit, but also for theirs, if we are not to leave all over the globe areas of poverty and discontent highly vulnerable to Axis propaganda.

4. The United Nations should declare their readiness to collaborate with any people, whatever its form of government, which respects the integrity and dignity of the individual and protects his rights within the state, provided he, in turn, acts as a responsible member of the community in which he lives.

It would be a great mistake for the Western powers to insist that every nation should adopt what we call democratic institutions. To force these institutions on other peoples by artificial means would merely be to discredit democracy. Democracy, in any case, is not a matter of this or that set of institutions. The essence of democracy is respect for the integrity and dignity of the individual, and a jealous concern for the preservation of the rights of the individual as against the encroachments of the State—always provided the individual acts as a responsible member of the community. Today two countries are the bulwark of the

United Nations—Russia in Europe and China in the Far East. Neither of them could be described as a democracy in our sense of the word. It would certainly be a strange paradox if, after the war, we should hesitate or refuse to collaborate with any nation merely because it does not have our form of government or our economic system.

5. The United Nations should proclaim their belief that human welfare must be the keystone of the peace settlement, and can be most effectively assured by pooling the capital and labor, the managerial skill and inventive genius of all peoples for the tasks of reconstruction.

There has been much talk about "redistribution" of raw materials and colonies as a remedy for the ills of the world. Unfortunately, this cannot be done in such a way as to satisfy all nations, for the simple reason that, when the earth was created, raw materials were distributed unequally over its surface. It is therefore impossible, no matter how great the good will of the peace-makers, to cut up the world as if it were a pie, and give each nation an equal share. What we must do is make it possible for all nations to share in the wealth of the world on an equal basis, contributing to the common pool whatever resources, talents, or skills they happen to command. There is no reason to assume that this peacetime pooling would have to take place on a dictatorially regimented basis. On the contrary, it must be hoped that private enterprise and initiative, operating on a basis of voluntary collaboration, may provide the mainspring for world reconstruction. But the maintenance of private enterprise will, in turn, depend on the willingness of all those engaged in production—workers no less than managers—to act as responsible members of society, and to pool their efforts, not merely for personal profit or advancement, but for the promotion of human welfare in general.

6. The United Nations should undertake, at the close of military hostilities, to maintain wartime economic and financial controls long enough to permit reconversion of industry, commerce, and agriculture from a war to a peace basis. Instead of demobilizing the machinery of wartime collaboration, once war

is over, the United Nations should pledge themselves to remobilize it for peacetime needs.

Today, in an hour of mortal danger, the United Nations are mingling their resources of man power and war material. Australian soldiers, commanded by an American general, are using American equipment to defend the Pacific. An American general commands Chinese troops, while Russian aviators are being trained by British technicians in the use of British and American planes. It should not prove impossible to carry this ready-made machinery over from war to peace. Similar, even more highly integrated, machinery existed in the last war, but it was scrapped the moment peace was signed. We must prevent recurrence of catastrophic economic dislocations by remobilizing wartime machinery for peacetime tasks.

7. The United Nations should express their profound conviction that isolation and neutrality are no longer practicable for any nation, great or small; and that the hope for world stabilization lies in concerted efforts by all peoples to administer relations between nations on a basis of responsibility for each other's welfare.

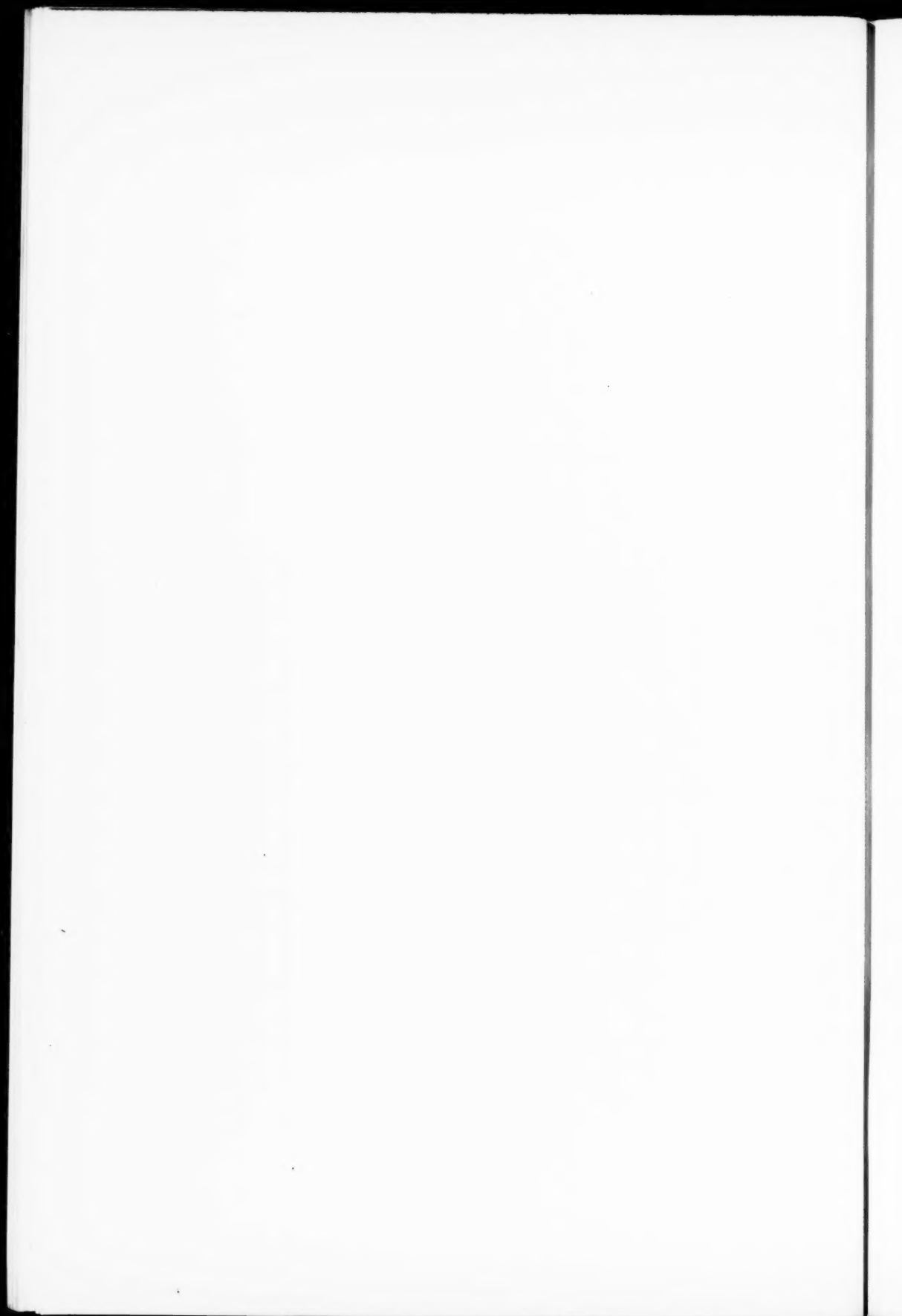
To prevent the United States, and other United Nations, from slipping back into grooves of isolation and national egotism after the war, it is essential that we should re-educate ourselves in the midst of war for new forms of international relations, based not on selfish opportunism, but on an enlightened self-interest, which would lead us to collaborate with other peoples, instead of shutting them off by political and economic barriers. This re-education is not merely a responsibility of the Government in Washington, it is a responsibility that rests on every citizen of the United States. If we are to have a fully functioning democracy, each of us must feel responsible for the general pattern of our foreign policy; and today we realize that foreign policy is not something remote from our daily lives, but part and parcel of any activity in which we may be engaged.

The magnitude of the tasks of postwar reconstruction should not fill us with discouragement or fear. On the contrary, we should feel peculiarly fortunate that we are living in a period of

history which challenges the imagination, the courage, and the skill of each one of us. There may be few opportunities left for pioneering in the exploration of new territories or the exploitation of new resources, but breathtaking opportunities open up before us for pioneering in the development of relations between men and between nations.

PART TWO

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF
BASIC SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND
INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH

By *MARK ETHRIDGE*

FIFTY-THREE YEARS AGO, the South's foremost editor went North to hail the end of Reconstruction and to hold out the South's first olive branch to the North since the War between the States. In a memorable speech, he said:

Far to the South, Mr. President . . . lies the fairest and richest domain of this earth. It is the home of a brave and hospitable people. There is centered all that can please and prosper human kind. A perfect climate above the fertile soil yields to the husbandman every product of the temperate zone. There by night the cotton whitens beneath the stars and by day the wheat locks the sunshine in its bearded sheaf. In the same field the clover steals the fragrance of the wind and the tobacco catches the quick aroma of the rain.

There are mountains stored with exhaustless treasures; forests vast and primeval, and rivers that, tumbling or loitering, run wanton to the sea. Of the three essential items of all industries—cotton, iron and wood—that region has easy control. In cotton, a fixed monopoly; in iron, proven supremacy; in timber, the reserve supply of the Republic. From this assured and permanent advantage, against which artificial conditions cannot much longer prevail, has grown an amazing system of industries. Not maintained by human contrivance of tariff or capital, afar off from the fullest and cheapest source of supply, but resting in divine assurance, within touch of field and mine and forest, this system of industries is mounting to a splendor that should dazzle and illumine the world.

I wish it were possible to repeat today as truth the prophesy that Henry Grady made fifty years ago, to say that we had taken the colorful heritage of our ancestors and made it the "fairest and

richest domain on the earth." But the sad truth is that Grady was a better orator than a prophet, even though his promise was based in truth. The South is the home of a people who are "brave and hospitable," but of a people who have been unhappily circumstanced economically; whose condition, in relation to the rest of the nation, grows no better even with a war boom; who will face, when this war is over and won, the necessity for the continuance of the Reconstruction which it has known so long. The South will remain Economic Problem Number One. Henry Grady was speaking in behalf of a people who were just emerging from that agonizing period in which the Southern people had to readjust their whole economic and social structure to a new order. He was speaking out of the misery of a people who had formed, in the two decades just preceding his speech, such a kinship in suffering that it is still, after all these generations, the strongest bond between them and the greatest motivating force in much of what they do and in the attitudes they take. It is a people who boast that, white and black, they are 98 percent native stock, a people who cherish the faint perfumes of a plantation life that was never as gracious and glamorous as the romanticists would have it. It is a people who, having had little money through generations, have learned to put little store by it. It is a people who become violently attached to causes and all the more violently attached if the cause be a hopelessly lost one. It is, in short, a romantic, gallant, prideful, strong-headed people capable of being, through generations, as stubbornly wrong about realistic things as of being gloriously loyal to their Civil War traditions, thereby constituting their own Problem Number One.

Although the South is, by every standard by which economic success and social advancement are measured, the most backward part of the nation, it is not a region without natural resources. On the contrary, the vast empire that stretches from Washington to El Paso is richer in climate, diversity of topography, and types of soil than any other region of the country. Within the South are more than half the land upon which crops can be grown without frost for more than six months of the year and more than two thirds of all the land in America which receives an annual rainfall

of at least forty inches. There 40 percent of all the nation's forests may be found, and, below the earth, 300 minerals, from marble and diamonds to sulphur and silica, are mined.

Out of our soil come the leading cotton, tobacco, and naval store crops of the earth; out of our rocks come one fifth of all the coal America consumes (yet only 2 percent of the veins have been tapped); one half of all the marble that goes into your buildings; and a tenth of all the iron ore. We supply 97 percent of all the phosphates America uses; two thirds of all the crude oil and natural gas she produces; and all but one percent of the sulphur. The South has 27 percent of the nation's hydroelectric generating capacity and 13 percent of all its undeveloped water power. As poor, as man has made it, the South is yet rich with the gifts of nature.

But I should not be fair if I did not say that we of the South, and you of the North, as part of this nation and as trustees and beneficiaries of its natural blessings, have failed miserably in the development of the fine civilization of which the Southern states are capable. The combined follies of both of us, you of the North in the exercise of your political and economic power, and we in our stubborn, even romantic, attachment to the production of cotton and the cultivation of our outworn loyalties, though it was ruining us, have defeated the early ideals of this nation. It is significant of what has happened to our rich earth that with more than a third of the country's good farming land the South has 61 percent of all the land badly damaged by erosion. According to the report of the National Emergency Council, upon whose facts I have drawn heavily, a tract of land as big as South Carolina has been washed away and another area the size of Oklahoma and Alabama has been as badly damaged. More than three hundred million dollars worth of our top soil is being washed away every year, the harvest of improper and too intensive cultivation. One consequence is that, with one fifth of the nation's income, we pay three fifths of its fertilizer bill to bolster up the productivity of land that has been washed out and burned out through generations.

But it is not the erosion of our soil which has been the most tragic consequence of our own folly with a one-crop system and

of your unwise economic and political policy toward us; the most tragic consequence has been the degradation and erosion of human beings that have accompanied it. If you would know the extent to which our own unwisdom and your policies have reduced the people of the South, let me quote a few figures which are eloquent enough within themselves.

Although this nation was founded upon the concept of the possession of land by those who lived upon it, more than half of all the land in the South is cultivated by tenants or share croppers; and in some places, the percentage runs as high as 80. More than 16 percent of all the land in the South is in the hands of corporations that have had to foreclose mortgages and are the unwilling holders.

Although public education was an early concept of our founding fathers, and although public education is handsomely supported throughout the rest of the country, the South has not been able to realize that concept. Her percentage of illiteracy is almost 9 against less than 2 percent for the rest of the country. Her expenditure on education is the highest in relation to public income, but per capita, the smallest in the nation, for the simple reason that she hasn't the money. Mississippi spends \$27 per child; New York spends \$141.

Although Fourth of July orators tell us that the farmer is the backbone of the nation, the average Southern farmer had, until war came, a gross income of \$186 a year, in comparison with an average gross of \$528 for farmers elsewhere. The average income of the tenant farmer was \$73 for his year's work, and the average income of the share cropper ranged from \$38 to \$87 a year, or from ten cents a day up.

More than half the homes in the South have been called substandard by the Government. Moreover, the South is the most heavily mortgaged area of the country. According to the President's Farm Tenancy Commission, the average value of the house occupied by a Negro farm tenant in the South is \$500.

Our health records are the worst in the country, partly because our expenditures for public health measures are the lowest and

partly because from 60 to 88 percent of the families of low-income groups are unable to buy enough food for an adequate diet.

We stand at the bottom of the list in the attainment of almost all those boons of civilization which were to come out of the settlement of this new continent. I think it is perfectly natural that we have failed to attain all these things, when plain economics are taken into consideration. The average wage for the Southern laborer is \$865, in comparison with \$1,219 for other workers in the country. We hold only 11 percent of the country's bank deposits, although we have 28 percent of her people. Our insurance companies hold only 2.6 percent of all the assets of national life insurance companies. Our brokerage houses and banks participate in only .07 of the financings amounting to a million dollars or more. We pay the highest rate for credit in the United States, ranging from 4.14 percent for prime risk in the twenty-seven largest cities to 44 percent for the tenant farmer.

Our folly and your policy have been responsible not merely for putting us upon a standard of living considerably below that of the rest of the country, but also for largely stripping us of our resources and of our capital. Although beneath our feet lies the wealth of 300 minerals, they are largely lost to us. We receive from them the day wages of an exploited labor class which digs them out of the ground. Almost all of them are processed elsewhere. Most of our factories are owned by outside interests, particularly in the Deep South. All our major utilities companies are owned or controlled outside the South. Almost all means of transportation—our major railroads, street railroads, shipping lines, and bus and truck lines—are owned outside the South.

We have in the South almost every element that goes into the manufacture of aluminum, but only the necessities of war brought us manufacturers of finished aluminum. We pipe our crude oil to refineries in the Middle West and the East. We ship most of our crude iron ore to Eastern plants to be processed, because it is too costly to process it in the South and ship it out. (Ironically, although we have more than half the farmers of the country, they have been able to buy, under such a crazy-quilt economic scheme, only one fifth of the farm implements of the country.) Although

we have all the important deposits of zinc ore in the United States, our ore is shipped to the North, manufactured, and shipped back to us.

I think it is symptomatic of our Southern economic condition that, although we have 99 percent of the sulphur deposits of America, there are only two Southerners among the twenty-four men on the boards of directors of the two companies that control the output. It is only natural that what there is of Southern industrial economy should be wholly subordinated to the national policy of the people outside who own us.

Naturally, there must be some explanation for this unhealthy picture. There is a definite tapestry that emerges from the 150 years of political and economic history of the South. Without seeing it, you cannot know the South. It is not unrelated to what is happening in the rest of the world.

For whatever reasons our ancestors came to this country, England's purpose in encouraging them was that it fitted into her mercantile policy. She wanted colonies to furnish her raw materials. She deliberately discouraged, as she has since discouraged in Burma and India, any manufacture in the colonies. Because of its climate and its slaves, the South fitted ideally into that scheme. Throughout her colonial history the South was predominantly agricultural. Not since 1810 has she shipped out more goods than she has brought in.

The invention of the cotton gin made slavery suddenly profitable and gave great impetus to her agricultural economy. After the War of 1812, the North and East, to protect their economic and political status, passed the first tariff acts. The South saw no reason to subscribe to or to fight a tariff law; it was of no concern to her. It was only in the forties, when a great panic swept the country, when cotton farmers with the proceeds of five-cent cotton were trying to buy goods whose price had been run up by tariffs, that the South realized what was happening to her. The Civil War did not ruin the South; even in the decade before it, the South had been borrowing heavily from the North. The North was in possession of the capital and the credit reserves of the nation before the fifties arrived.

But the Civil War did fasten the cotton system firmly upon our section. Freedom for the Negro brought as a substitute for slavery the tenant farmer and share cropper system which have meant the enslavement, not only of Negro farmers, but also of white farmers who are in competition with them. At the close of the Civil War, 5,500,000 white people faced 4,000,000 Negroes. The white people had land, nothing else. The Negro had his freedom and nothing else. The Federal Government had given him his freedom, but had planned no policy of rehabilitation. The Southern white man and the Southern Negro evolved, out of their poverty, the barter system that has come to be the share cropper, tenant farmer, and furnishing system of the South. It was a scheme that served its purpose in its day, but I say without reservation that the system has been an unmitigated curse for at least three decades. It has helped to drag our people, white and black, further and further into poverty, and brought with it poverty and all her ugly hand-maidens: human degeneracy, disease, illiteracy, and prejudice.

As long as people live as they do on some of the farms in the Deep South, no orator in the United States can beat his breast and say, "Thank God, we have no peasantry." I spent six months in Central Europe and I never saw peasants live under conditions that I have seen in the South. At the cost of our capital, at the cost of our people, at the cost of the spiritual fiber of our proud native stock, we have furnished cotton to the rest of the world.

But cotton has not been our chief export. Our skilled men run many of the machines, direct some of the biggest banks, the biggest newspapers, and the biggest business enterprises of the East. Not even brains have been our biggest export; we have sent to the Northern cities in twenty years 4,000,000 people, and along with them, a big crop of syphilis, tuberculosis, undernourished, and educationally backward children, and a race problem you have solved no better than we. And for all that, you who live outside the South must take much of the blame.

The South chose agriculture; the South chose cotton. Those were all her choices, and they represent so much of economic misery, so much of physical suffering, so much of political lost causes to her, that she is almost psychopathic even in defense of

her mistakes. She has been foolish and she persists in her right to be foolish. But she did not choose some of the instruments of her economic oppression which have been put upon her.

Our brothers of the North forged the shackles of tariffs and freight-rate discrimination which have been so disastrous to the South. Our farmers, engaged in a speculative business resting largely upon exports—we sent 60 percent of our cotton and 40 percent of our tobacco abroad until war came—were dependent, upon the one hand, on prices which were determined by mercurial changes in economic and political conditions. On the other, they bought their tools, their clothes, their foods, in a greedily protected market.

I once heard, and I can believe it, that the Alabama farmer, leasing his land for iron mining, paid more for barbed wire from his own ore than the Argentine farmer. But whether that story is true or not, the thing about the tariff that is truest of all is that whether we got five cents a pound for cotton or whether we got twenty cents, tariff schedules were not changed, except upward. We paid the same for our goods whether our cotton brought \$25 a bale or \$100 a bale. Such a situation was bound to bring an economic unbalance between one section that was industrial and one that was agricultural, with inevitable draining of the latter.

An even more disastrous part of the tariff policy which America followed was that it was a part of the world-wide pattern of intense nationalism that encouraged the rise of Hitler, gave strength to the "have-not" argument, was a provocative of the war and, consequently, brought about the destruction of the foreign markets upon which the South largely lived. I have no great hope that many of the South's markets will be restored after this war. Their disappearance may mean an even greater idleness and an even greater migration from this section than we had in the twenties and thirties.

There are those who like to think that the South is developing industrially to the point that she is gaining percentagewise in the value of her manufactured products. I know no figure to support that. It is true that the kraft paper industry is a great and growing business; it is true that war necessity has brought us aluminum

and other manufactures, such as plane plants, shipyards, and synthetic rubber factories. It is true that the Tennessee Valley Authority has done a magnificent job in industrial research and in development of its territory. But it is more than probable that the disparity between Northern and Southern industry has been increased by the war. It is natural that the great expansion of industry for war purposes should have most benefited the North, because it already had factories and power and skilled workmen. I see little or nothing in the war picture which attacks the fundamental need of the South: a greater industrialization. On the contrary, I see, after the disappearance of the war babies, a worse industrial situation and greater distress if we are left to our own resources.

We can never develop industrially as long as the freight-rate structure is what it is. The freight-rate structure is designed to draw raw materials out of the South, for manufacture in the East, and conversely, to prevent manufacture into finished products in the South. That has been possible through the so-called "regional" freight rates, now under study by direct resolution of Congress, and by the conference system, under which Eastern roads must agree to the tariffs proposed by Southern roads. With a favorable Interstate Commerce Commission and a rate structure, the Eastern roads have been able to control Southern manufacture and protect the manufacturers along their lines.

They have done it well. It is 449 miles from Atlanta to Louisville and 852 miles from New York to Louisville. Yet the New York manufacturer can ship 100 pounds of finished goods to Louisville for two cents less than the Atlanta manufacturer, although he is twice as far away. It is 297 miles from Nashville to Indianapolis and 296 miles from Indianapolis to Kent, Ohio. It costs the Nashville manufacturer, however, thirty-six cents more per 100 pounds than it does a manufacturer in Kent to ship to Indianapolis.

On cotton in bales, rates from the South to the East are the same as rates in the East. On unfinished cotton fabrics, the crudest form, the rates are 10 percent higher when the goods move from the South into the East. If we bleach the fabric, the differential

becomes 11 percent; if we process it into oilcloth, the disparity is 54 percent. And we grow all the cotton in the country!

From the South to the East rates are 7 percent higher than all-Eastern rates on cottonseed oil, 24 percent higher on cooking or salad oil, and 35 percent higher on margarine.

Rates on pig iron from the South to the East are one percent lower than those within the East—because the East wants the raw product—but when Southern pig iron is made into steel plates, the penalty is a 27 percent increase in freight rates; if it goes into a tractor in the South, the difference is 40 percent; and if it goes into a hand tool, the penalty is 51 percent.

Most of the ceramic clay America uses comes from the South. As long as it is raw clay, it is allowed to move into the East at 5 percent below the Southern rate. But if we make it into plumbers' goods, we are penalized 37 percent; if we make it into pottery or chinaware in a factory alongside the clay pits, we are penalized 55 percent. Consequently, we ship our raw clay to Fostoria or Steubenville and buy it back, plus two freight hauls, when it is manufactured.

There can never be a permanent Southern industry, there can never be a decent wage level, there can never be a real attack on the fundamental poverty of this section as long as it suffers the injustice of having its rich natural resources hauled out for manufacture elsewhere. I invite you to consider our situation alongside that of Venezuela, whose oil we take out of the earth and refine elsewhere; or Malaya, whose crude rubber England took to her isles for manufacture; or Bolivia, whose tin went as ore to England for manufacture. Whatever the outcome of this war may be, one of the things that will disappear is the right of one nation or one section to exploit the other's raw materials on an absentee basis. I have no sympathy whatever with low wage scales, but they will never be much better in the South until the South is able to convert its own raw materials into finished goods.

In blaming others for some of our ills, I have no defense for Ku Klux Klans, lynchings, floggings of union organizers, grandfather clauses, violations of civil rights under any guise, or manufacturers who magnify the differentials between Southern and

Northern living costs—actually somewhere between 3 and 5 per cent. I admit that we are highest in homicides, tenancy, illiteracy, soil and human erosion, and lowest in income, health, and education. I admit, moreover, that we do not have and will not have full democracy in the South as long as we have those things; as long as we have a tenancy evil so vicious as to make peasants out of a great part of our people; as long as farm incomes average \$200 a year for 1,500,000 Southern families; as long as politicians invoke devices such as poll taxes and white primaries to perpetuate their machines and deprive almost three fourths of the adult population of any voice in their destiny; as long as we imitate Hitler and lynch our fellow citizens and deny them full economic opportunity. I have fought all those evils and expect to continue to do so. But they are, after all, symptoms of a deep and basic disease that springs from poverty.

It is time for all of us, if we are to be a united people, to understand that there is no democracy, except on the tongues of Fourth of July orators, that is not based in economic justice as well as civil rights. Too many people write the South off as a backward section stewing in its own juices because it is too lazy or too apathetic to get away from a feudal agricultural system. That is a superficial attitude, no doubt easy on the consciences of people who have had so much to do with shaping our civilization. The South has its faults, its prejudices, and its mistakes; it can do much for itself and it can give a better measure of justice to its own people. But it must be regarded for what it is: a national problem, the product in large measure of national policy and Eastern exploitation.

It does not have the resources to repair the ravages of that exploitation until the real owners of this section, Northern investors in insurance and mortgage companies, stockholders in the railroads, public utilities, factories, mines, and mercantile establishments, are ready to plow back some of the capital they have drained off. A tax base which rests on exhausted land will never yield enough to educate our children or kill the mosquito which afflicts 2,000,000 of our people with malaria and destroys one third of the effective man-hours in malaria belts. We can never,

by ourselves, restore the worn-out lands of Tobacco Road or a people who have the highest rate of malnutrition in the country.

We can never emerge from the spiral of what promises to be a permanent depression except by the intervention of the Federal Government. We can never break a feudal political system that deprives too many of even the right to protest unless the Federal Government forces the repeal of the poll tax, a system which generally sends representatives of the so-called "fit to govern" to our national houses in elections in which as few as 16 percent of the constitutionally eligible participate. We can never become what Grady envisioned until the national conscience becomes as aware of injustices within our borders as it is of those outside.

THE SOUTH'S HUMAN RESOURCES

By CHARLES S. JOHNSON

THE SOUTH HANGS TOGETHER by the grace of an amazingly few common threads. No great area has so wide an assortment of peoples, or soils, or cultural origins; and no area of similar size shows such diversity in the rates of development of its parts. But to speak of the South is to speak basically of a state of mind, conditioned broadly by its peculiar economics and sharpened by its sectional policies.

The line drawn between the South and other sections of the country varies with the objective index used. Is Kentucky South? Or Maryland? Is Texas South or West? It all depends. Are there ten Southern states or twelve or fourteen or seventeen? Again this depends on the point at issue. What marks the essential difference between the upper and the lower South? Between the Old and New South? Is it a matter of traditions, or racial and national origins, or climate, topography, economics, or politics? The truth is, there are many Souths, and the characteristics of each are fairly definable.

The three great European nations that matched wits for possession of the present United States came in through the Southeast. The Spaniards left in Florida exotic reminders of a once flourishing empire much more Latin than American or Southern. The old French families of New Orleans date back to the days of the *Grand Monarque*. The personal and the street names, the speech, the architecture, the picturesque cemeteries, the traditions of imperial grandeur, all trace back more certainly to Europe than to the pioneering struggle of Americans in the South.

The French Huguenots who went to Charleston, in South

Carolina, had been "drawn in carriages and reading good books" for three generations at least. The highborn gentry of Virginia and Maryland built great houses, fostered a tradition of luxury and hospitality, sent their sons to England to be educated, and dotted the ever expanding cotton country with their estates and their hereditary debts.

Exiles from Scotland and fugitives from the massacre of Glencoe, refugees from the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745, became the structure of the colony of highlanders in North Carolina. Here they have lived, in Robeson, Moore, Cumberland, and Bladen counties, in the great pine woods, and near great swamp areas, developing them into plantations. This was the Scotch country of the South, with its MacDonalds, MacGregors, MacLeods, from the clans of the West Highlands and the Hebrides. For a long time Gaelic was the common language, and the early settlers even taught it to their slaves. The strongest survival is the sturdy Presbyterianism of the area.

There are in Louisiana at least four varieties of French: the French born in France; the Creole native of French descent; the San Domingan Creole; and the Nova Scotia Acadian, or Cajun. Descendants of the fifteen hundred or more Acadians expelled from Nova Scotia in 1755 now number more than a hundred and fifty thousand, and they retain their speech as do the Creoles. These Latins rubbed shoulders with the early fugitives, mostly Anglo-Saxon, from the depressed lands of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

The gentleman "investors" who placed the stamp of gentility upon the romantic tradition of the Old South were not, however, the colonizers who gave final character to the social institution. For this we look to the sources of the populations who gave actual body to the economic institutions; whose slowly evolving patterns of living at first supported the gentry at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of caste, and later swamped them in the democratic regency of the common man. These groups with their different circumstances of life made the difference in areas which we label collectively "the South." These populations, isolated and ingrown, and only recently disturbed by the invasion of industry; these

populations emerging from yeomanry and humble middle-class pursuits, or the professions, into a new economic and political power in the growing towns and cities of the South, are the new body politic. Their traditions, heavy with numbers rather than years, shape the folkways of the region; their interests determine the policy; and their strength enforces its administrative details.

The three factors that more than anything else have given a distinctive character to the South are climate, the vicissitudes of the staple crops which came to be developed, and the presence of the Negro. These determined the populations, the interests, the living levels, the trade interests, the cultural development, and the politics. Political boundary lines and sectionalism are incidental to these fundamental factors. These interests not only dictated the volume and distribution of the Negro slave population, but the long segregation and isolation of the mountaineers, the sand hillers, the clay eaters and crackers, the peasants of the Ozarks. The soil, the economy, and the cultural origins of the peoples of the South have over the years shaped very different characters.

There are the mountaineers of Tennessee who for over a century have been cut off from the currents of regional growth, nurturing the sentiments and attitudes toward life of their ancestors who fought their way into these fastnesses; impoverished in body and spirit, but defiant of the currents of modern change. At another geographical extreme are the bayou dwellers of Louisiana, who still live by hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering moss. Their standards of living are low and their death rate is high, and, like the mountaineers, they have remained out of the currents of change.

Look at the map of the South. The eastern rim stretching from Virginia to Florida, bordered by the Piedmont crescent, is the textile mill country and the country of many landless whites. The area grows and manufactures 85 percent of the tobacco consumed in America, and has drawn the textile industry from New England. The Piedmont plateau is middling cotton and good tobacco country, and three fourths of its farms are operated by tenants. Here was once the throbbing heart of a great cotton empire now moved westward, leaving only the fragrant memory

of the past, and worn-out lands that require almost as much fertilizer as they produce in crops.

In the barren stretches of the coastal plains live many of the so-called "poor whites," pushed back from the richer plantation land, and remaining there through sheer habit and inertia. The old plantation Piedmont cotton belt was once a rich area, but is now depleted. Large sections are arid and sterile from overuse and erosion. One fourth of all this land had fallen into the hands of creditors before the beginning of the Second World War. White and Negro tenants and landlords have been debt-ridden or land poor.

The present cotton kingdom has evolved a culture of its own. It includes the rich, alluvial, delta stretches of Mississippi and Arkansas and the newer and still fertile areas of Texas and Oklahoma, as well as the exhausted lands of the Southeast. This culture is marked by a type of single-crop agriculture, a vast Negro population, in some counties constituting as much as 90 percent of the population, a large and still growing white tenant class, a plantation organization, a rigid routine of life, and a low level of living for more than half of its 10,000,000 producers of cotton. Mississippi is the heart of the great cotton system today, and of the agricultural South.

Then there are the Southern highlanders who live in the great Appalachian chain from Kentucky to Birmingham on the western prong, and from Maryland to Spartanburg, South Carolina, on the East. The original stock was a sturdy, vigorous people, Germans from the Palatinate, Ulster Scotch, or Scotch-Irish. The area is a stronghold of fundamentalism, rugged individualism and, not infrequently, violence. Few Negroes are tolerated here. And there is Texas, neighbor to Mexico and sharing its population. Here is a state capable of producing all the cotton this country needs and much of its oil, but lacking the plantation structure. Mingled with its Mexicans and Negroes are Swedes, Norwegians, Czechs, Poles, and Italians.

This is the South!

In the thirteen Southern states from Virginia to Texas there are over a half billion acres of some of the richest and some of

the poorest land in the country. Although the South is potentially rich in resources, underdevelopment on the one hand and overdevelopment on the other have created serious social problems. The gross population of the area, too, is both underdeveloped and wastefully exploited.

In the South are the most heavily congested rural populations of the United States. The section has more births and more living children per family than any other part of the country. The size of families is actually increasing in some areas. One result of the population-economic deadlock is a waste of earning power and of potential social well-being, more serious even than the waste of the soil.

The average rural income of the South in prosperous times is less than a fourth of the income of farmers elsewhere. In 1929, for owners and tenants, it was \$186, as compared with \$528; and out of this amount must come all operating expenses and credit charges, which exceed similar costs in other areas. For tenants alone the incomes average about \$73; for share croppers, \$38, or about ten cents a day.

In industry, the average annual wage is \$865, as compared with \$1,219 in other sections. The National Industrial Conference Board has recently completed a study of the cost of living in seventy American cities. This study provides an excellent base for relating the differential regional earnings to costs of living in different areas. It includes a balanced sampling of Southern cities. The difference amounted to a bare 3.5 percent. In other words, it costs just about as much to live in the South as anywhere else. The greatest difference is in the proportions of the people who are able to live up to a decent standard. The great majority of the South's population falls below.

The Division of Social Research of the Works Projects Administration has recently covered fifty-nine cities, including Southern cities, to determine how much a four-person industrial, service, or manual worker's family would need for self-support, and its cost. The average total cost of a maintenance budget for all cities was \$1,261. In the Southern cities the average cost of main-

tenance was \$1,208, as compared with \$1,276, or a difference of about 5.4 percent.

Only a small proportion of the section's industrial workers earn as much as \$1,208. The difference between the maintenance budget and the best earnings in industry is close to 30 percent. Actually, half the people of the South have incomes of less than \$300 a year.

Such marginal living is reflected in numerous deficiencies, physical and social. Perhaps the most conspicuous example is in the diseases which are due to dietary deficiency. Custom and tradition, which have been fashioned around the demands of the plantation system, control the dietary habits of the Southern farm family with a rigid restriction to a few unbalanced food items—corn, salt pork, molasses, grits, and sometimes eggs. Diet studies in Mississippi and Alabama show an unbalance of about 75 percent. The South has the greatest incidence of pellagra, called "hidden hunger" by Rupert Bayless Vance. Studies of gainfully employed nonrelief workers in ten of the largest cities of the South show that less than two-thirds spend enough money to buy "an adequate diet at minimum cost," as calculated by the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Labor.

In deaths from tuberculosis, typhoid, pellagra, influenza, childbirth, and infant mortality the South leads, even with the Negro population separated. The mortality rate for the Negro population from diseases controllable by a better economic situation, education, and public health measures is from two to four times as high as for the whites.

Hookworm is a Southern disease associated with low-income groups, soil pollution, unsanitary conditions, and a lack of shoes. When this disease was attacked as a public health problem, studies showed that in some counties the infection rates were as high as 99.3 percent. Examination of drafted men during the First World War showed 12 to 33 percent of the male adults infected, depending upon the areas from which they came.

Malaria is widely distributed. It induces anemia, which among tenants is frequently assumed to be laziness. Malaria is associated with swampy areas, lack of screens, and with polluted water.

More people in the South die from lack of medical aid than in any other section and, according to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, death rates in the South Atlantic states have risen 7.3 percent in recent years, though no other section reports more than 4.8 percent increase, and in some areas the rate has declined.

The South is still predominantly rural. According to the 1930 Census of Agriculture, Southern states were at the bottom in the value of farm dwellings. Half the farm dwellings in the South are valued at less than \$500. A special study of sample counties in Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas in 1930 showed an average value of owners' houses as \$975 and of tenant houses as \$352. A large percentage of tenant houses in the South falls below \$200 in value. The value of Negro dwellings was so low as to bring down the general average seriously. It is estimated that 4,000,000 Southern families should be rehoused. This is one half of the families in the South.

The human waste through inadequate education is as vital as the waste in health. The poverty of the South is again evident in the differences between the Southern states and the states with which they must compete in an economic sphere that is placing higher and higher premiums on education. The Southern communities cannot yet adequately support education. The national average of wealth per child of school age (five to seventeen) is \$10,200 as compared with the South's \$4,900. Mississippi's average is about one third of the national average. The national average expenditure per pupil in 1930 was \$99, as compared with \$44.31 in the South for whites and \$12.57 for Negroes. Negro children of the South get one fifteenth of the American average. The same disparities exist for school buildings and teachers' salaries.

Illiteracy is higher in the South than in any other section. In the South it was 8.3 percent in 1930, as compared with 1.9 percent in the North Central states. For the Negroes in the South it was 19.7. In addition to low income, the section is burdened with a dual system which imposes further costs in the duplication of overhead. Even taking into account the bolstering of white edu-

cation at the expense of Negro children does not balance the books for the white South.

The most serious relief areas are the Appalachian Ozarks and the Eastern cotton belt. The study of *Six Rural Problem Areas* by the Research Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has this to say about the Southeastern cotton area:

The socio-economic status of the average family receiving relief in this area is such that only through a long time program of education can it learn to manage its own affairs efficiently. The colonial system of agriculture based upon the exploitation of both the laborer and the land that he works, for the benefit of the mother country, has left in its wake denuded, worn out soils and a large population of illiterate, subservient workers poorly equipped to guide their own destinies.

About 31 percent of the white and 17 percent of the Negro families were classified as unlikely prospects for rehabilitation, and 20 percent of the white and 39 percent of the Negro families were considered incapable of becoming self-supporting.

The damage done to the psychology of the people, and to the outlook and aspirations of youth, has a profound effect upon the culture of the area. It means increasing the burden of support for the section, and it registers further in shortened productive ages, and in the costs of crime and of police protection.

There would probably be a different view of the status and prospects of the South if it were not for the traditional role of the Negro. The mere presence of the Negro population has influenced the economic life, the social behavior, the political concepts, the morals and manners, the philosophy and thought forms and general ideology of the region. The Negro is less than a third of the population and his proportions are declining. Unfortunately, the coexistence of a Negro population and poverty has been regarded as having an inescapable cause-and-effect relationship. This, however, is not necessarily true. Some of the poorest sections of the South are those in which few or no Negroes live, as in the Appalachians and the Ozarks. On the other hand, the richest areas in the South are those in which Negroes live, but the Negroes are poor. They are producers of wealth and have been from the founding of the nation. There is no permanent

explanation of the economic lag of the region in the presence of the Negro population. There seems to be more explanation in the traditional social and economic status of the Negro.

It is now becoming somewhat clearer that there can be no important change in either the economics or the general culture of the region without a revision of the role of the Negro in the total economy of the South. This is saying no more than was discovered independently by Britain in attempting to develop a colonial empire in Africa and India. Professor Hans Kohn has pointed out, with reference to the relation of Europe to the Orient and to the Near East, that experience has shown that independence is an essential condition for any thoroughgoing economic and cultural advance, for the Europeanization and modernization of the native economic system in the interest of the native peoples.

In Turkey and Egypt, and even in Mexico, it has only recently been recognized that if the rich economic resources of a nation are to be fully developed, the age-old structure which prescribed a fixed peasant or peon class had to be resolved, whatever the risk to the vested interests of the traditional rulers of the region. Says Professor Kohn:

Until very recent times, the peasant in Eastern Europe, and a hundred years ago in Central Europe, counted politically for nothing at all; to the governments he was simply a source of revenue and to the usurers a subject of exploitation. But the new national movements have given him a hitherto unknown self-confidence and have directed the attention of national governments to the peasantry as pillars of the strength and future of the nation.¹

The implication here is very definitely that in any forward planning for the region a first essential is the ungrudging and generous incorporation of the long restricted and retarded elements of the population into the program.

The South has had, in its competition with other regions, several distinct handicaps. It has been basically an agricultural region competing with the more flexible, acquisitive, and dynamic

¹ Hans Kohn, *Western Civilization in the Near East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 76-77.

industrial and urban pattern of the North. Its chief staple, cotton, has been in an open world market, without the protection of the tariffs and restrictions that have supported industry. The price of cotton has not been set in Mississippi or in New Orleans, but in Liverpool. Once the region had a world monopoly; now there are fifty or more cotton-growing countries. Three generations ago it required about half of the people to feed the whole population. Today, a fourth of the agricultural workers can do this easily, with machinery and improved methods of farming. It is now virtually necessary for the Government to support agriculture. This necessity undoubtedly explains the desperate farm bloc in Congress, and the insistence, even in a war emergency, upon 110 percent of parity for agriculture in our efforts at economic stabilization.

The strongest claim of the agricultural South for national support is the fact that it alone produces the one precious product no longer importable from Europe, that is, population. The South is, as Guy Johnson calls it, the "seed bed" of the nation. It is the only section that reproduces itself and gives its surplus, through migration, to the rest of the nation that can apparently no longer sustain its numbers.

The Southern states have 28 percent (about a fourth) of the nation's population but produce 33 percent (about a third) of the children, and nearly half of the total national increase. At the same time, it is the poorest section in the country, with the lowest incomes, and the lowest per capita wealth. The greatest rates of population increase were in the poorest land areas. A significant feature of this population maladjustment is the uneven burden of support laid upon the South. It has the largest proportions, not only of children, but of old people, both of which groups are essentially nonproductive. The active and productive ages are drained off to other areas.

Southern youth were migrating from the farms at the rate of 200,000 a year during the period just preceding the depression. The movement to cities of the South can be sustained only through an increase in industries. Both the improvements in agriculture and the disorganization in certain areas are expelling

agricultural workers at a steady rate. Vance estimates that the single invention of an effective cotton picker can displace from one to two million people.

A second handicap of the South is its conservatism, a conservatism in its social philosophies as well as in its economics. The vast capital and property losses of seventy-five years ago were indeed serious, but only a few of the younger spirits appear today ready to leave them out of the reckoning in the immediate next steps for the future. However, the South's future is by no means unpromising, and some of the indications appear in the following trends: (a) increased industrial development for the absorption of the surplus population; (b) increased subsistence agriculture; (c) birth control; (d) rehabilitation of farm families through loans and guidance; and (e) population redistribution.

There is considerable question as to what the optimum, or best balanced, population may be. It is not yet certain whether the population maladjustment in the South is due to too many people or to an inadequate development of resources. However, attention is now seriously directed toward drawing in more industries. Industry is now finding the South the next logical area for development. Agricultural Mississippi, for example, is gradually accumulating useful industries. The defense industries in the South are demanding more skills, and will leave a valuable deposit. As vital as cotton once was to the South, chemistry now promises to be. The exigencies of the war are creating new products for the world, of which agriculture will be the base.

The desperateness of the need for industries, however, has not infrequently led to excesses which in the end can do labor itself more harm than good. One student of the problem refers to these new industries as the new carpetbaggers, the manufacturers who are taking advantage of the South's population predicament to come in and benefit from the cheap and docile labor. Economists who are concerned about replenishing the mass purchasing power observe the tendency of these ventures to drive wage standards low generally. In Tennessee more than twenty towns have brought in industries by offering the inducement of low taxes and, in some cases, deductions of 5 or 6 percent weekly from the future

wages of labor. Ten or twelve Mississippi towns have done likewise.

The prospect for employment has been the subject of intense study over the past five years. The most hopeful indications are these: It is anticipated that there will be an increase in the demand for nonfood products of the farm, turning these to industrial purposes. Cornstalks, straw, and other fibrous materials can now be made into paper and allied products. The most notable of the nonfood products is pine. The Southern states already are growing 200,000,000 cords of pine, annually, which can be used, not only for paper, but for cellulose.

It is not likely that more men can be absorbed into mining or manufacturing, on the basis of predepression trends. There is little chance of further absorption in utilities and transportation. The inevitability of new industries suggests the desirability of more training centers, perhaps government sponsored, to give instruction to the semiskilled and unskilled.

The second corrective of subsistence agriculture is suggested in the need for more actual food products in the South. Not only is there a spread of self-sufficing family farming, but it will be noted that the South is learning to produce additional smaller staples. Georgia is a peach-growing state, but not so long ago the nation's peaches came chiefly from Minnesota. Prunes came from South America, and pecans, while native to the South, formerly grew wild and only recently have been cultivated as an important agricultural product.

Birth control as a measure of population regulation is slowly gaining popular support. With the increase of literacy and sophistication it is having an effect in the cities. The fact remains that the greatest birth rates are still in the lowest occupational and educational brackets.

Rehabilitation through loans and guidance is being attempted through the Farm Security Administration, which has had pronounced success in dealing with some half million or more of the marginal farm workers.

General population redistribution finds perhaps its best proposal in the one made by Dr. O. E. Baker, who looks to the

village as the best means of preserving a balance between population and resources. He points out that continuing migration to the cities will lead to a more serious social consequence—the decline in both the number and the quality of people—and this will in turn have serious economic and political consequences in permanent unemployment and distress. On the other hand, the back-to-the-farm movement will mean an uneconomic use of rural labor and further lowered standards of living for farmers already below the margins of comfort.

Suburban development and the decentralization of industry will have definite advantages. Family life in the village is more satisfactory; the cost of living is less than in the city; schools and other institutions are better than in rural areas. There are better provisions for the aged. So far as employment is concerned, the village can check the annual flow of billions of dollars from the rural areas to the city. Part-time farming can develop more rapidly. Most important, it is perhaps the most likely means of restoring the population age structure and of checking the present unwholesome and menacing imbalance.

The most spectacular demonstration of natural and human conservation is the ambitious program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Here the power resources of the South's abundant water supply are converted to social use; land is carefully classified; submarginal and forest lands are taken under the Government and converted to watershed protection and recreation; and the populations on marginal acres are being resettled. The program further contemplates decentralization of industry and the creation of new industrial centers to increase the marginal incomes of the people and control exploitation both of land and of people.

We may take some satisfaction, along with our apprehension, in the fact that in 1937, of the \$477,000,000 that went into the establishment of new industrial plants, 29 percent was in the South. This is significant since the South has only 13 percent of the nation's capital invested in industrial plants.

There are over three hundred varieties of minerals in the South, from oil to coal, from actinolite to bogumite, and these

should be both used and developed by the area for the benefit of itself as well as for the rest of the world. Only through such reversal of the currents of capital can the human resources be adequately and fully conserved.

It is not enough that a few of the region's advanced thinkers and social planners visualize improvements. To be really effective, the need and desire for change must be a part of the consciousness of the common people. Change can be effected through several channels:

1. *The extension of suffrage.*—One of the most valuable educational devices is the ballot itself. In a democratic society, programs develop out of constructive discussion. There can be no intelligent use of the ballot without acquaintance with public issues and personalities; and this is a form of education. In the South there is limited political expression and, thus, limited educational value from such experience. Ten Southern states restrict the right of suffrage by means of the poll tax, property qualifications, and direct racial discrimination in registration. In the 1938 elections the percentages of the adult population, of voting age, voting were: 20.4 in Alabama; 18.5 in Arkansas; 37.8 in Florida, 19.6 in Georgia; 16.2 in Mississippi; 14.1 in South Carolina; 33.5 in Tennessee; 26.2 in Texas; and 25.7 in Virginia. These states can be compared with West Virginia, without the poll tax, in which 92.1 percent of the adult population voted.

It is entirely possible that with a larger electorate of the people most seriously affected by the present economy there would be quite different representation in Congress, and greater and more earnest support of the types of constructive social legislation from which they could expect both benefits and protection.

2. *Coöperative enterprises.*—Fortunately, we have some excellent examples of regions, even entire nations, that have abandoned the profitless struggle of separate individuals against mass power. Coöperative production, marketing, and purchasing for consumption is the poor man's most effective economic weapon, and is another form of educational experience. There is no sound basis for life for the small producer against the weight of increased and costly mechanization in agriculture except through this more

equal competition. The FSA in the South has demonstrated that simple educational measures and intelligent coöperation have doubled the net worth of farms in as little as three years.

3. *Labor organization.*—The reasons back of the rejection of labor organization in the South have been related to the economic lag and to economic insecurity in general. So strong has been the force of habit and tradition that the very workers who have most needed the support of organized labor have violently repudiated the principle. Here, again, is a useful educational as well as economic device, although it still is capable of abuse. Labor organizations that exploit their members through fees, and pit their collective power against individual and weaker industries, are merely perpetuating familiar evils. The gains of labor in the South have been in some measure offset by the continuance of the racial exclusion policy, which is ultimately as destructive to the ends of labor as it is to the profits of industry.

4. *Folk education.*—The bare beginnings of folk education in the South have been observed in the vigorous attempts to wipe out illiteracy. This, however, is still only a symbol. An effective folk education can help to bridge the gap between the low level of schooling in adults and the present-day requirements for easy and active literacy; acquaintance with a wide range of problems and issues; ever newer scientific discoveries of potential value to individuals, to farmers and workers; actual new skills and vocations; and an enlightened interest in the news and in the amenities of the culture.

It has been one of the most dangerous myths of the past that limiting the education of Negroes, and paying them low wages, kept them useful. There are few jobs in any advanced society that can be done as well by ignorant as by intelligent persons. The army is discovering that simply dumb obedience and response to discipline cannot make either good soldiers or good workers. The army is selecting intelligent and educated men and is leaving the less useful illiterates with the communities originally responsible for them. Like our modern agricultural and industrial society, the army is a mechanized and complex organization.

5. *General education programs.*—A region that genuinely desired to lift the cultural and educational level of its people would follow just the opposite of the present practice. Instead of limiting the educational facilities of the backward elements, it would, proportionately, provide more for them than for those in better circumstances. In order to accomplish any measure of such readjustment, some type of equalization will have to be devised that will reduce the present disparities between rich and poor regions and between white and Negro populations. Louisiana is an example of a Southern state now engaged in taking stock of its human resources as measured by, and amenable to help from, the public educational institutions. Its recently created Educational Study Commission has presented significant findings, which can become the basis for widespread economic and cultural development through the local resources of the state.

6. *Consumer education.*—This is a question, not only of economics, but of health and general well-being. It is a type of adult education that is just being recognized by the nation as a whole. One value is the present concern about nutrition, diet, and health. Even where funds are adequate, it has been revealed, ignorance can take a serious toll, both of health and of economic resources.

7. *Social legislation.*—The South is relaxing with respect to programs of social legislation designed to improve the security of the workers and the people generally. One of the most neglected areas has been that of farm tenancy, whose archaic legislation has helped to hold in a permanently backward status the vast population working in cotton production. Texas, Arkansas, and North Carolina have made some advances in the revision of these archaic laws. Child protection, in courts, institutions, and industry, lags far behind the nation. The state labor laws still permit measures of exploitation.

There is no escaping the fact, however, that the greatest obstacle to the desire for change is the fear of disturbing the present racial positions in the South. Yet, unless this is done there can be no new social order in the direction and spirit of the world ferment for a democratic society. This is no longer a matter of mere justice for the underdog, but a requirement of self-interest and self-preservation.

THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES

By JAMES J. MADDOX

THE HISTORY of the Farm Security Administration is the story of an adventure in social action. We might almost say that the FSA grew out of the experience and vision of social workers everywhere. Only those who have seen the terrible human wastage that comes from poverty can fully appreciate the potentialities of a program that leads the way out of poverty.

The FSA came into existence five years ago, at a time when the traditional ideas about the relation of the individual to society were undergoing a profound and radical change. Moreover, the FSA has contributed greatly to throwing overboard these older ideas and helping to crystallize new ones. According to the prevailing social thought of the nineteenth century, poverty was an undeniable evidence of inherent individual inferiority and social worthlessness. Indeed, the Malthusian doctrine gave strong support to the belief that human poverty was inevitable. It was easy to graft onto this thesis a social interpretation of Darwinism to the effect that it was only the biologically inferior who drifted into a poverty-stricken status.

To a great extent, however, we have come to recognize that poverty is another name for two things: first, the lack of an opportunity to perform a social function which is respected and judged by the community as essential to its well-being; and, second, a lack of the means by which to take advantage of such opportunities when they do arise. The FSA has tackled both these problems. It is trying to open up opportunities and to provide the means for attaining such opportunities.

Society has not adequately provided sufficient educational opportunities for developing the latent capacities of all its members. Especially is this true of most of the farm families with whom the FSA works and the hundreds of thousands of others who are eligible for its services. Half of the FSA families have never had more than a seventh-grade education and, on the average, have completed only the fourth grade.

Adequate physical resources must also be forthcoming from society if all its members are to fulfill functions commensurate with their abilities. In the city, this means a full-time job; in the country, it means that farm families must have sufficient land and equipment for the effective use of their labor. Actually, about two million farm families are trying to make a living on an average of forty acres of land and with about \$250 worth of equipment. The total value of their land, buildings, and implements averages less than \$3,000—resources which are far too inadequate for the full employment of their productive powers.

Lastly, society must make available to all its members certain civic rights, including at least the privilege of equal access to the instruments of justice and a voice in the selection of those who write the laws which all must obey. In theory and by the Constitution, these civic rights are available to all. But the practical fact is that they are not. It is commonly known that they are weighted on the side of superior economic status.

Without such civic rights, persons are excluded from effective participation in their political community. Without essential physical resources, they are excluded from their economic community. Indeed, without adequate educational facilities or opportunities for developing their abilities, individuals are effectively excluded from both their economic and their political communities from the start.

Serious shortcomings arise whenever people cannot perform functions commensurate with their powers. One of these is a strikingly low material and cultural level of living. Health services suffer, for example. It is not uncommon to find a country doctor who is trying to serve from two to four thousand people, whereas a thousand to fifteen hundred persons are all that he

can adequately serve. There is a dearth of hospitals—authorities say that there is clearly a need for 500 additional rural hospitals.

Thousands of farmhouses are too small, ill-repaired, and without screens or toilet facilities. It has been estimated that to repair the present farmhouses would cost as much as they are worth, which is approximately seven billion dollars.

Another disadvantage is social isolation. Cut people off from access to social-economic functions and all their other forms of community participation are severed. Such people seldom participate in important policy-determining groups in their community, such as clubs, churches, and other regularly organized forms of expression. They are not articulate. Their social ties are limited mostly to family relations and a few neighbors.

A lack of access to social functions generally expresses itself in certain important spiritual disadvantages. Before people can make their full contribution to society, they must have a sense of personal significance and worth in the world. This, I suppose, is the deepest yearning of the human heart. The basis of a man's sense of worth comes from doing a job that society respects as being essential to its existence and well-being. Evidence of the recognition of society is shown in the extent to which it provides an individual with the means of performing a useful function, rewards that performance with a decent standard of living, protects his rights, extends to him a place in neighborhood groups, and in a thousand ways pays him due respect.

Cut a man loose from a socially approved and dignified function, such as running a good farm, building cars or tanks, teaching, or practicing law, and you destroy that man's sense of worth. And, when this sense of personal significance is destroyed, the man's soul is destroyed. But give a man even a little means for a worth-while function, and it is surprising how quickly spiritual health is restored.

Another spiritual need is that of a sense of belonging to the world outside the home, to friends, to town, church, community, to the nation. A sense of belonging is hardly possible unless some useful function binds together an individual and his society.

A third need is of what may be called a sense of responsibility—duties to be performed as well as rights to be claimed. A society which takes lightly its responsibilities toward the individual will hardly engender an individual's sense of responsibility for the preservation and well-being of society. And yet, while this is true, the extent to which disadvantaged people feel a sense of responsibility for the preservation of a community which has afforded them rather meager opportunities is oftentimes surprising.

The whole purpose of the FSA is to help low-income farm families help themselves, to enable them to attain the opportunities and the means of establishing themselves in socially useful functions. The FSA carries on its rehabilitation program among low-income farm families with two main types of services: money for loans and grants; and trained personnel to work with individual families. Farm management supervisors and home management supervisors serve every agricultural county in the United States.

The farm families who need assistance are usually disadvantaged in one or more respects: The family does not have enough land to support a decent standard of living, or the land which it has is unproductive. The house is often substandard, and the buildings and fences are inadequate or in a sad state of disrepair. Sanitary conditions are often deplorable. Farming may be the only way the man knows how to make a living, but his knowledge of farming may be extremely limited. Thousands of Southern share croppers and tenants, for example, knew little else but the growing of cotton when they turned to the FSA. Social isolation, malnourishment, ill health, indebtedness, insecure tenure, and a feeling of discouragement, despair, and resentment are other disadvantages which have been responsible for the failure of farm families to rise above poverty.

When a farmer is unable to obtain credit from the usual sources, he can turn to the county FSA office for assistance. In his first interview with an applicant, the county supervisor tries to find out just what the farmer's troubles are, and why, and what he needs. If the farm is not suitable, either because it is too small or is unfit for productive farming, or if the applicant has been displaced, the supervisor helps him locate another farm.

The supervisor then brings together the applicant who is a tenant farmer and his landlord, to work out a written lease that will assure some security of tenure to the farmer and his family. One of the major causes of rural poverty is insecurity of tenure; thousands of tenants move from one farm to another every year.

The farm management supervisor and the home management supervisor now work out with the farmer and his wife a plan and budget for operating the farm and running the household. On one side of the plan are listed all the expenditures the family expects to incur in the coming year, and on the other side is listed the anticipated income. A FSA rehabilitation loan is made for the amount needed to bring anticipated expenditures and income into balance.

Rehabilitation loans are made for the purchase of livestock, feed, equipment, seed, fertilizer, and other necessities. Sometimes small grants are made for subsistence needs, medical care, and sanitary facilities when these cannot be provided by the family earnings. Borrowing families are encouraged to join existing purchasing and marketing coöperatives, or to organize such coöperatives, and they are encouraged to take part in the FSA group medical care program.

Since the start of the rehabilitation program, nearly one million families have received small loans, usually for a five-year period, for farm operations and household maintenance. About four hundred and fifty thousand such loans have been in the South. The FSA is currently servicing some five hundred and fifty-six thousand rehabilitation borrowers, nearly three hundred thousand of whom are in the South.

Do the borrowers repay these loans? Yes. More than 80 percent of the rehabilitation loans are being repaid as they fall due, and thousands have already paid up in full.

Another activity of the FSA is the tenant purchase program. Approximately twenty-five thousand Tenant Purchase loans have been made to qualified tenants, share croppers, and farm laborers to enable them to acquire farms of their own. These loans are approved by local committees of farmers. The committee certifies that the farmer is qualified by ability and experience to acquire

and operate a farm on his own. It also certifies that the farm he is going to buy is of adequate size, and that the purchase price is reasonable.

More than one hundred thousand families—over a half million men, women, and children—have been able to obtain medical care at a cost they can afford. The medical care program, a form of health insurance, was born out of the experience of field workers who came to realize that poor health, the result of long-neglected physical defects, unhygienic living conditions, and the “hidden hunger” caused by bad eating habits and lack of proper food, was often a serious barrier to a farm family’s struggle to rise above poverty. Again, an accident—incidentally, farming is considered one of the most hazardous of civilian occupations—might seriously disturb the family’s financial situation. FSA borrowers taking part in a group medical care plan pay about \$24 a year into a “pool,” and local doctors perform medical or dental services as needed. The physicians submit their bills to a bonded trustee, who pays them out of the pool.

The FSA has helped organize 17,600 coöperative and community facilities and services, reaching 190,000 farmers. In addition, the FSA has helped small farmers to purchase coöperatively such things as fertilizer and garden seed, and to market some of their produce. The coöperatives are especially useful, too, in enabling farm families to acquire habits of wholesome group participation, a sense of belonging, and responsibility and personal worth.

It is sometimes said that disadvantaged farm families are not worth helping because they do not try to help themselves, even when given a hand. However, the records of the FSA belie this view. Since obtaining his first loan, the typical FSA borrower has: (a) increased his net cash income by about three-fourths; (b) increased his net worth over 40 per cent; and (c) increased his milk production over 60 percent.

Though the FSA makes many loans, it is not just another loan organization. It is far more than a credit institution. It is more than an educational program, though it is educational to a large extent. It is more than farm and home management, though it

relies heavily upon this discipline. The program is more than any of these because it uses all of them together to equip and sustain the individual in an adequate social role. It combines education, credit, and farm and home management for this purpose through joint farm and home planning on the part of the supervisors and the individual families.

Throughout the year, the farm and home supervisors visit the family, talk over their problems with them, offer technical guidance on improved farming practices, conservation of the soil, improvement of the home environment and money management, and work out revisions of the original farm and home plan in the light of actual experience. This kind of day-to-day work is a complete and practical expression of a new point of view.

The FSA includes in its scope other activities, such as migratory labor camps. Fifty-nine of these camps have been established throughout the United States, sixteen of them in the South. These camps provide modest living quarters, recreational centers, some health services, such as a resident nurse, facilities for laundry, sewing, and canning, and equipment for repairing cars. The camps can accommodate about fourteen thousand families at any one time or about thirty-five thousand during a year, considering the migratory turnover. They were started in a time of labor surplus, in areas where growers required large numbers of workers at harvest time. Now, with a labor shortage threatened, migratory labor camps are proving helpful to growers in attracting workers who otherwise would remain away from harvest fields where housing conditions were unsatisfactory.

It has been stated that the FSA job was a depression job, born of the distress that accompanied our economic difficulties in the early thirties and weaned on the bottle of temporary chaos and frustration. This job, it is contended, no longer needs to be done—the depression is over, farmers are prosperous, factories are humming, jobs are plentiful, and rosy prosperity has wiped away the squalor that used to be so common in the households of the lower third of the nation's farm population.

This contention is not true. Rural poverty, despite vastly improved economic conditions and the best direct efforts of the

Government, is still widespread. There are still vast numbers of low-income farm families—families who, incidentally, because they are unskilled, or too old, or too far from industrial activity, are not getting jobs in our humming industrial plants. The primary disabling force that keeps adding to the ranks of the needy and keeps them from rising economically and socially—their lack of the essential means of livelihood and of performing a useful function in society—is still rampant.

There are people who claim that the cure of all these ills consists of higher farm prices. Good prices for farm products actually mean very little to nearly one half of the farmers in the country. The economic problem of 2,500,000 small farmers is not primarily low prices, but too low a volume of production. These farmers are without adequate *means* to produce commensurate with their abilities. Until and unless these means are forthcoming, good prices will not improve their condition very substantially.

Let me illustrate. In 1938, the year before Sam Johnson, of Arkansas, asked for an FSA loan, his total gross cash income from cotton and peas, including his Agricultural Adjustment Administration payment, was \$103. If he had maintained the same sort of farm and grown about the same crops in 1941, his total gross cash income last year would have risen, because of better prices, to \$168. But Johnson did better than that. He got an FSA loan in 1939, worked out a farm and home plan, and diversified his farm enterprises. In 1941, as a rural rehabilitation borrower, Johnson had an actual total gross cash income of \$590, nearly six times as much as before.

There is another significant reason why the assistance given by the FSA is not only still needed, but is needed today more than ever. Without this kind of assistance, the man power on the nation's small farms will continue to be wasted. We need man power today more than ever before in our history, and yet every day the United States wastes between ten and fifteen million man-hours of labor on its small farms, essential man-hours worth more to this country than any commodity which it possesses. This waste must stop.

If the productive capacities of less than one million of the nation's small farmers were given a chance to function through a little guidance and some funds for equipment and other facilities, it has been estimated that these farmers could contribute the following proportions of the increase in food production called for in 1942 by the Department of Agriculture:

	<i>Percent</i>
Milk	16.0
Pork and lard	35.0
Eggs	40.0
Peanuts	12.0
Soybeans	6.4
Sugar beets	17.0
Tomatoes for canning	46.0

Here, in essence, is the picture. There are today 2,500,000 disadvantaged farm families without means commensurate with their powers to perform the very functions which the nation must have performed for its survival, and which the families must perform if they are to realize their full stature. Their boys, like other boys, are on the battle lines of the world. Those boys want to know whether the folks back home are getting a square deal, and the folks back home want to help to the limit of their powers.

Democracy will ever increasingly mean a government by the common man, bringing to the great mass of men adequate opportunity and means for fulfilling to the limit of their talents, functions dignified by all as being essential to the existence and well-being of all. During the terrible thirties a new line of social thinking came into existence. It is roughly as follows:

1. Society is defective in so far as it fails to provide all individuals with the opportunities and means for developing their abilities to perform a useful function in the society, in order that these individuals may sustain themselves with an adequate material and cultural standard of living in the performance of such a function.

2. Individuals and groups are to be judged as socially deficient and inferior only after society has fulfilled its obligation of mak-

ing available to them the means and opportunities for sustaining society through some useful work.

Such I believe to be the spirit and meaning of democracy as it was reshaped and revitalized in the dark hours of the recent depression, and again in the phrasing of the Four Freedoms of the celebrated Atlantic Charter. This is now the spiritual banner of all the democratic peoples of the earth. Upon this spirit was built the program of the Farm Security Administration, and upon this spirit it will provide a new chapter in the history of American pioneering.

NEGRO CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRACY AT WAR

By *LESTER B. GRANGER*

SINCE 1941 many significant changes have taken place in the American public's attitude toward minority groups in our population. There is genuine concern, not only for the status of minorities, but also for the reaction of these groups to their status, and the new attention accorded the citizenship status of American Negroes is indicative of this sober thought. The Negro American is used to being exhorted by his own leaders. Exhortation is as familiar a part of his daily life as hominy grits is of the Southern breakfast. But now he is sought out by other leadership formerly indifferent to his problems, and he is actually wooed by Federal agencies whose attention he unsuccessfully sought as recently as a year ago.

Most of us know that this changed public attitude arises from an uneasy realization that the Second World War is, in a certain sense, a racial war, regardless of our unwillingness to admit it. The fact that the Japanese nation is arrayed, on the one hand, against a white British imperialism and, on the other hand, against an American nation overwhelmingly dominated by whites, does definitely introduce the factor of racial conflict. Axis propagandists have joyfully seized upon the racial segregation practiced against Negroes in a large part of this country, the rise of racial prejudice in the remainder, the outbreak of violent racial conflict in Detroit, and the shameful lynching at Sikeston, Missouri. They have reported the instances where Negro troops have been driven off the public roads by Arkansas civilian mobs that were

resentful of their Army uniform, terrorized in their encampments, and shot down in cold blood by military and civilian police in Little Rock, Fayetteville, Alexandria, and Baltimore. These facts have been dwelt upon, emphasized, and even exaggerated for the attention of colored peoples in the South Pacific and Western Asia where Britain now vainly seeks to hold these allies. They have been broadcast by radio, pamphlet, and word of mouth throughout South America, where less than one fourth of the population can be called white, and where the population of so dominant a state as Brazil is more than one fifth Negro.

Here at home, American leadership has come to recognize that in a total war considerable dependence must be placed upon the loyalty and sacrifice of our Negro one tenth of the nation. For war production to reach the fabulous heights necessary to insure victory, the labor, skill, and intelligence of Negro workers must be utilized to their utmost. For these reasons, the belief of Negroes in democracy and their readiness to sacrifice for its defense are now being accepted as a test, in one sense, of the security of our democracy. The use made of Negro labor serves as a measuring rod for estimating the efficiency of our labor supply programs. Governmental practices that permit racial prejudice to hamstring Negro employment are now recorded as administrative weaknesses that cripple effective prosecution of the war effort. All this concern demonstrates a new realization that perhaps the unquestioning loyalty of 13,000,000 Negroes has been taken too much for granted—just as the British Government scornfully discounted the dangers of Indian and Burmese discontent.

Of course, this new appraisal of the Negro's status in American life neither stems from a high idealism nor extends to all kinds of national leadership. It has its roots in an intelligent national self-interest, it is true, but there are still many influential Americans who do not realize the important role that color has played in the war thus far. There are still sections of the country where the persistence of racial prejudice dims the clearness of leadership's vision. There are still important officials of the Federal Government who openly or secretly resist the attempt of Negroes to attain full citizenship stature in all phases of the war program.

Nevertheless, we can note encouraging progress which is proof of the efficacy of the pressure already exerted, and which indicates where additional pressure must be placed during the war years ahead.

During the last year, our strongest national leadership, of both races, has unceasingly denounced racial and religious discrimination in a democracy preparing for war. This denunciation came to a head when 50,000 Negroes organized in June, 1941, for a proposed "March on Washington" as a demonstration of the Negro's unbounded resentment at exclusion from armed service and defense employment. Under the impact of public opinion, developed among both races, the Administration's inertia was destroyed. Executive Order No. 8802 was signed by President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, forbidding racial discrimination in defense employment whether by private employers, public contractors, or governmental agencies. The President appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee, responsible for administering the provisions of the order. This act by the Chief Executive was widely hailed as epoch-making in its possibilities and a "modern Magna Carta" for Negro labor.

The War Department next showed signs of reacting to an aroused public opinion. Secretary Stimson announced, in March of 1941, that the Army's remaining barriers against Negro enlistment had been lowered, that colored men would be accepted for enlistment as pilots and members of ground crews. An air field was established for their separate training at Tuskegee, Alabama. On January 22, 1942, plans were announced for creating two full divisions of Negro troops, including every branch of service, with Fort Huachuca in Arizona designated for their training. This announcement signified a possible departure in two ways from previous War Department policies. It provided for enlistment of Negroes in all the armed services, though still on a segregated basis, and it broke with the earlier practice of assigning Negro troops to camps in parts of the Deep South where they had protection for neither their physical safety nor their personal dignity as United States soldiers.

The Navy, however, still remained adamant against change of

racial policies. It remained for two Negroes—one famous, the other unknown—to call national attention to these policies and to make the first crack in the Department's solid wall of resistance. When champion Joe Louis defended his title at Madison Square Garden and donated his entire purse to the Navy Relief Fund, this act of generosity made millions of Americans ashamed of the fact that Negroes might enlist in the Navy only as messboys. At Pearl Harbor another hero was born—Dorie Miller, Negro mess-boy serving on the battleship "Arizona." Under a rain of shells from attacking Japanese planes, Miller rushed on deck to take over a machine gun, the crew of which was blasted in the first fire. He operated the weapon with deadly accuracy, forgetful for a moment that the Navy's racial bar had prevented him from training for this moment of emergency. Then Wendell Willkie, speaking at the inaugural dinner of Freedom House in New York City, referred to Dorie Miller's heroism and to Joe Louis's generosity and called upon the United States Government to justify itself in the eyes of its Negro citizens and the democratic world by revising its racial policies in the Navy. The opposition of naval brass hats began to crumble. Four months after Pearl Harbor, Miller was finally cited for heroic conduct. Then, on April 7, 1942, Secretary Knox announced that the Navy Department's policy would hereafter allow the enlistment of Negroes in reserve components of the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps. These concessions have been made grudgingly, it is true; they are unsatisfactory in their coverage; but they are significant and even exciting demonstrations of the growth of democratic public opinion and its influence upon a representative form of government.

By far the most important work, however, has been performed away from the public's general notice. It has been this quieter work, indeed, that has furnished a solid base for pressure upon public officials. Last year, surveys made by Urban Leagues in various parts of the country showed less than 10 percent of defense contract-holders willing to consider the employment of Negro workers. There was, as admitted by *Fortune* in March, 1941, "An almost universal prejudice against Negroes . . . you almost never see Negroes in aircraft factories." As a matter of fact,

the Douglas Aircraft Corporation was the only firm building war planes that employed even a handful of skilled Negroes in March, 1941. Nor were employers' policies the only handicap. Negro workers found craft unions that barred their membership and employment in closed shops throughout the nation, North and South. They found themselves barred from defense training courses, whether carried on by boards of education or as training-within-industry courses. Many state employment services openly refused to refer Negro applicants, either to defense training or to jobs. With very few exceptions, they coöperated cheerfully with those employers who specified "white" or "white, Christian, only." They were unwilling to refer Negro workers for defense training where they suspected the slightest chance of employer resistance to the use of Negro labor. Employment officials were evasive when questioned on their policies or stubbornly contemptuous regarding protests from Negro job applicants.

Much of this general picture has been changed during the past year, partly because of the President's Executive order, but partly also because of the growing strength and skill with which minority groups have been pressing their claim to equal opportunity. It is true that new techniques of employer evasion have been developed to meet this pressure, but improvement can be noted, nevertheless. The Wright Aeronautical Corporation now employs close to three thousand Negro workers. The Glenn L. Martin bomber plants, North American Aviation, Consolidated, Brewster, and Bell aircraft plants, all use Negroes at production jobs. In the fall of 1941, the pay roll of 40,000 workers employed by Lockheed Vega of California included not one single Negro; by March, 1942, more than 350 skilled and semiskilled Negro production workers were employed in that same company's plants. Thousands of Negroes are at work in ordnance plants throughout the country, with 4,000 to be employed in St. Louis, 600 at the Indiana ordnance plant, and similar numbers in Lake City, Denver, and the Twin Cities ordnance plants. The number of Negroes employed at the Newport News Shipbuilding Company in Virginia has increased from 3,000 to over five thousand. In the United States Navy yards, the number of skilled, semiskilled, and un-

skilled Negro workers grew from about six thousand at the opening of 1941 to over thirteen thousand a year later. They were employed in thirty-seven different crafts, including first-class machinists. The conversion of the automobile industry to war production has resulted in the upgrading of skilled and semiskilled Negro workers formerly confined to unskilled and custodial work in many factories. Among companies reporting such changes are: the Kelsey Hayes Wheel Company, the Chrysler Tank Arsenal, the Oldsmobile Company, the Murray Corporation, and the Briggs Manufacturing Company.

In the field of war building construction, the shortage of skilled labor in many cities has produced more consideration for Negro workers from both contractors and unions. Union membership and local union charters have been granted Negroes where formerly they were withheld. There is greater readiness on the part of contractors to allot a stated number of jobs to Negro craftsmen, as for instance, the seventy-five carpentry jobs allotted to Negroes in construction of the volunteer ordnance works near Chattanooga, Tennessee.

These changes have been accomplished in spite of strong opposition, and still the picture is not a rosy one. A majority of holders of war contracts still circumvent the Executive order. Some refuse to use Negro labor except on the unskilled level. Sometimes they avoid openly flouting the President's Executive order. Placement of a very few Negroes may be offered as a token of fairness, with no intention to follow the practice further. Or Negroes may be hired and then dismissed on vague grounds of incompetency, or even "incompatibility." The more hard-boiled employers simply refuse to consider the employment of Negroes, secure in their confidence that the Federal Government will not interfere with their important war contracts, and, unfortunately, their confidence seems completely justified.

Last September the United States Employment Service inquired of selected defense industries throughout the country the number of new jobs that management expected to produce during the following six months and for how many of them qualified Negroes would be considered. Out of 282,245 prospective job

openings 144,583, or 51 percent, were absolutely barred to Negroes. These answers were given after the Executive order had been issued, and the Fair Employment Practice Committee had opened its offices. The figures hold good for Northern as well as Southern states, for unskilled as well as for skilled jobs. For instance, out of 83,000 unskilled jobs, 35,000 were declared arbitrarily closed to Negro applicants.

In the field of organized labor discouraging cases continue to develop where white workers resist employment of Negroes in war jobs. The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice had literally to force the International Machinists Association in San Diego to adjust its closed shop agreement so that one Negro machinist might be placed in the Consolidated Aircraft plant. The I.M.A. policy still bars Negro employment in the Boeing Aircraft plant of Seattle, and the district organizer for this international recently announced to the press that it would be demanding too great a sacrifice of the union to admit Negro members—this in the face of the war emergency. At the Wright Aeronautical plant in Columbus, Ohio, a walkout occurred of 250 whites (members of the United Automobile Workers of America) when Negro workers were introduced into one of the plant's units. In Detroit over two hundred white members of the same union staged a forty-minute sitdown strike holding up the work of 600 persons when the Packard Corporation shifted two expert Negro polishers from work on automobiles to the finishing department of a new plant. In both the Columbus and the Detroit situations, however, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. officials took prompt and effective action. In Columbus the president of the international union appeared to settle the dispute and send the strikers back to work; in Detroit the union issued an ultimatum to the strikers either to work with their Negro fellows or quit their jobs. They did not quit, and the Negro workers stayed. While such incidents as these are discouraging in themselves, they have been helpful in that they have served to establish coöperative teamwork between War Production Board representatives, union leaders, and organizations representing Negro workers that augurs well for final solution of similar problems. In fact, union

leadership in general has shown itself far more aware of its responsibility for democratic action than has leadership among either management or government.

The worst aspect of the present picture is the continued refusal of public officials to train Negro workers for production jobs and the tacit assent given by the United States Office of Education. No amount of propagandizing by private organizations or government agencies can greatly alter the Negro's employment status unless the great mass of Negroes are given better opportunities for training their skills. If the greatest proportion of Negro labor, whether in the South or recently migrated to the North, is of the unskilled variety, it is because of the general lack of vocational training facilities for Negroes in most sections of the country. United States Office of Education figures show that in eighteen Southern and border states where 22 percent of the total population are Negroes, only 3,215 Negroes, constituting 4 percent of the total trainees, were enrolled last January in preemployment and refresher training courses. Out of 4,630 training courses in the Southern states, only 194 were open to Negro trainees. In Florida, Negroes are 27 percent of the state's population, but only .17 of one percent of its trainees. In the state of Texas, where Negroes comprise 14.3 percent of the population, 12,472 persons were trained in defense production last February, but only 206 Negroes were admitted to training courses. This is in spite of legislative provisions that there shall be no racial discrimination in defense training, and in spite of the Office of Education's bland announcement to state educational offices that they are held responsible for enforcing these provisions. There has been no sign thus far that the Office of Education intends to recognize the fact that its admonitions have been almost completely ignored by state and local boards of education in many states throughout the country.

Last March, for instance, Bell Aircraft officials in Buffalo assured the National Urban League of their readiness to employ approximately four thousand Negro workers at Marietta, Georgia, when the new plant there is completed. At that time, however, one single defense course was open for Negroes of Atlanta and

that was in ship-woodworking. Local educational authorities refused to admit Negroes to other training in spite of the fact that 6,000 Negroes had registered, in one week, with a local committee to show their desire to find jobs at the new Bell plant.

Here, then, is a picture which may inspire or discourage believers in social action, depending upon their point of view. It will inspire one who measures the progress made in one short year in the face of the most ignorant and rabid opposition; it will discourage one who regards this persisting undemocratic thought and practice and compares them with our national professions of democratic aspiration. It is discouraging, most of all, from the standpoint of selfish common sense. The Fair Employment Practice Committee has pointed out that nonuse of Negro workers in an area where labor shortages are already apparent is more than a crime against democratic living; it also involves unwise use of precious war materials. The Bell Aircraft Company, for instance, will employ between forty and fifty thousand workers in its Georgia plant. The entire available labor supply in the state of Georgia is less than forty thousand men, and nearly half of these are Negroes. The fifteen training schools reserved for white applicants cannot possibly supply the Bell plant's needs; yet 6,000 Negro applicants in Atlanta are denied training to meet these needs. White workers in other sections will be imported into a state where housing for workers is already at a premium. New homes must be built; critical war materials—iron, copper, zinc, and steel—will be diverted from manufacture of munitions to building of homes for white workers while Negro workers, already housed, remain idle. Transportation facilities are overtaxed, production and living costs are inflated, and labor situations are disorganized because of competitive bidding for workers between areas and between employers. It is a high price to pay in wartime for outmoded racial prejudices.

There are many other unforgivable features of this whole situation. Our whole national policy regarding the Negro, with its step-by-step, grudging concessions, has consistently betrayed the responsibility of a great democracy toward its citizens and in a period of emergency. Negroes rightly ask the question—if mem-

bers of their race may serve as messmen on a battleship with white sailors, why may not Negro machinists, radio operators, stokers, and even gunners serve on the same ship? If Negroes are good enough to die for their country at Pearl Harbor, on Bataan Peninsula, and in the Southern Pacific, why are they not good enough to work for their country here at home? Why cannot the hand that aims the machine gun and operates the tank be trained to wield the drill press and operate the welder's torch to make those guns and tanks?

These are the questions that Negro Americans ask with increasing intensity of feeling. In that intensity of feeling there lies a danger, not of actual disloyalty among Negroes, but of complete disillusionment regarding the nature of American democracy. There has been much talk of possible fifth-column activities by Negroes if they are pushed too far. With regard to such a possibility, I hold with a Negro minister with whom I talked recently in a Virginia city. He said: "Negroes will not desert their country. We learned about treachery, unfortunately, from our white neighbors; but we have learned about loyalty from our God, and that lesson will stand." But an answer must be given to our Negro citizens, and it must be the right one. It is an answer that will go far beyond the surface of traditional race relations in America. It will set a seal on the sincerity or dishonesty of our aspirations toward tomorrow's world. It will establish for the lifetime of us all our country's relations with peoples to the south and west of us. It will determine in large measure whether this nation, under God, shall have that new birth of freedom, and survive as a government of *all* the people, by *all* the people, and for *all* the people.

THE REPEAL OF THE POLL TAX IN THE SOUTH

By WALTER J. MATHERLY

THE HISTORY OF THE POLL TAX in the South is largely the history of suffrage in the South. When the Southern states undertook, after the dark days of the Reconstruction, to rescue their governments from the carpetbaggers they discovered that it was necessary to take definite action concerning the vote of Negroes. They discovered somewhat later that it was equally necessary to take definite action concerning the vote of poor whites. The Populist movement, which in the nineties hit the South with considerable force, focused attention on both these classes. In 1892 the Populist candidate for President carried five states and was a serious competitor of the Democratic party in Alabama and Georgia. In 1896 William Jennings Bryan emerged as the spokesman of the downtrodden and neglected masses of the entire nation. The reaction of the South to these events was one of great apprehension. The ruling classes were afraid that the interests of the poor whites and the Negroes might be united and that they might seize political power. As a result thereof, all the Southern states, except Kentucky, in their efforts to preserve white supremacy, proceeded either through statutory enactments or through constitutional changes to make use of the payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

The Southern states for the next two or three decades maintained intact their poll-tax fronts in spite of bombardments from within as well as from without and even in spite of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution and the

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almost ceaseless flow of decisions rendered thereunder by the Supreme Court. It was not until 1920 that opposing forces were able to break through the barbed-wire entanglements. In that year North Carolina eliminated its poll tax. In 1934 Louisiana took similar action. In 1937 Florida removed its restrictions by statutory enactments. But eight states—Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas—still retain poll taxes.

When North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida deserted the ranks of the poll-tax states the arguments which are usually invoked in support of poll-tax repeal played an important, though not a decisive, part. Naturally, these arguments attracted the liberals and challenged their support. They likewise appealed to those who saw prospects of voting without the use of poll-tax receipts. They also aroused the interest and sympathy of many ordinary individuals who had no positive views concerning the poll tax. But there were other and more immediate forces, some organized and some unorganized, which more directly precipitated repeal. In one of the states those who led the fight were public-spirited citizens and tax reformers. Those who led the fight in the other two states were practical politicians. They took positive action, not because they had any overwhelming convictions concerning the disfranchisement of large segments of the population, but because they saw a chance to attain certain very definite political ends.

The abolition of the poll tax in North Carolina was the product of tax reform. The amendment which called for the repeal of the tax was not voted on separately. It was a part of a general amendment which provided for the levying of an income tax. Thomas W. Bickett, the governor of the state at the time, had some very real convictions concerning the poll tax as well as other aspects of the state tax system, and he assumed leadership of the groups interested in effecting a change. Public opinion in general favored amendment. While there was extensive state-wide debate on the amendment, that debate was confined almost entirely to the merits or demerits of the income tax. The removal of the poll

tax was more or less a side issue and attracted no unusual attention.

In Louisiana repeal of the poll tax was due primarily to Huey Long. There was no serious contest of any kind, except in the House of Representatives, where the bill proposing the constitutional amendment carried by a margin of only one vote. State-wide agitation for or against repeal was virtually nil. Long had undisputed control in 1934; his program was designed to make "every man a king"; he did not need the poll tax; it was a drain on party funds. Consequently, he got rid of it. By relieving his followers of the necessity of paying the tax he not only strengthened his position with them, but also added other followers to his ranks. But he did not make voting easy. Each voter was required to have, in lieu of two poll-tax payments, two poll-book signatures, a poll certificate, and a certificate of registration. As a result of these restrictions, everyone presenting himself at the polls, particularly if he did not belong to the machine, had to have three separate certificates secured at three different times before he was actually permitted to cast his ballot. When Long and his machine passed on, this complicated arrangement was dispensed with. Under the present law any citizen may qualify himself to vote by complying with the regular procedure governing the registration of voters.

In Florida the poll tax was abolished with almost equal expeditiousness. Claude Pepper, the leader of the New Dealers, together with the faction of the Democratic party which he represented, had a small majority in 1936. They were afraid that that majority might be jeopardized in future contests in case their opponents resorted to the traditional tactics of poll-tax politics. Hence they came out boldly for repeal. No opposition of any kind developed. The state as a whole was not aroused. Of course, the politicians fell into line because it meant a reduction in the costs of running for public office. The result was that the repeal bill passed both houses of the legislature in 1937 with only a small number of negative votes, twenty-one in the House of Representatives and four in the Senate.

The abolition of the poll tax in North Carolina, Louisiana,

and Florida did not by any means open wide the door to the free exercise of the right of suffrage. In these states the "white primary," the one-party system, requirements concerning residence and registration of voters, the application of illiteracy tests, the use of intimidation, the threats of the Klan, still interfere with the free use of the ballot. Even if poor whites and Negroes are released from the payment of poll taxes, they may still be disfranchised. A great many laws must either be removed outright from the statute books or be completely revised before the franchise can be separated from its surrounding entanglements. Moreover, even if the elimination of the poll tax permitted Negroes to secure complete access to the general elections, participation therein might still not give them any real voice in government, since all important issues, including even the election of all candidates, are settled almost altogether in the primaries, from which Negroes may be wholly debarred.

In Louisiana registration may be denied to any person who has not resided in the state two years, in the parish one year, and in the precinct three months; to any person who cannot read or write; or to any person who is unable to satisfy the registrar concerning his ability to give a "reasonable interpretation" of any clause in the state or Federal constitution. If a person can neither read nor write, he may, however, still be permitted to register provided he is able to demonstrate to the registrar that he is a "person of good character and reputation," that he is "well disposed to the good order and happiness" of the state and nation, and that he understands "the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government." In spite of these complicated regulations, 50,000 illiterates in Louisiana managed to qualify in 1940.

While the abolition of the poll tax may not have opened wide the door to the free exercise of the right of suffrage, it did greatly increase the number of voters. After repeal in North Carolina, in 1920, the vote in the next gubernatorial primary was doubled. In Louisiana 160,000 more people voted in 1936 after repeal than in the preceding election. In Florida, after repeal went into effect in 1938, the number of voters increased from 50 to 100 percent.

The percentage of the adult population voting in these three states is very noticeably greater than in the eight states which still have the poll tax. In the Democratic primaries, which really represent the important contests in most of the eleven states, Florida, Louisiana, and North Carolina lead the others significantly in the percentage of adults voting, but the leads which they have achieved have occurred only since the repeal of the poll tax.¹ The percentage of adults in Florida making use of the ballot jumped from 39 before repeal to 58 after repeal and in Louisiana, from 34 to 49. Similar figures are not available for North Carolina, but 53 percent of the adults in that state voted in 1936. While in the neighboring states of Kentucky and West Virginia, with no poll-tax limitations, approximately 70 percent of the adults vote, in none of the poll-tax states is the percentage of adults voting in excess of 38 and in one—Arkansas—it drops as low as 22.

The increase in the number of voters has come largely from the lower- or lower-middle-income classes. The tax discourages from voting more persons from these classes than from any other. While it is impossible to secure adequate information on this point, there is evidence which tends to show that these groups trek to the polls after the removal of tax restrictions in greater numbers than any other group. In Ouachita Parish, in northern Louisiana, the greatest increase in the number of voters after repeal was in the poorer, rural areas. In Alachua County, Florida, the increase was invariably greater in the poor- or lower-middle-income precincts than in those precincts classified as middle- or high-middle-income. It is no surprise to find that those in the lower-income brackets vote in larger numbers after repeal. To people on or near the margin of subsistence, a tax of one or two dollars is sufficient to keep them from the polls.

The increased number of participants in elections in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida consists largely of poor whites. The Negro vote has apparently not been appreciably affected. In

¹ Considerable use has been made in this article of the unpublished manuscript which Dr. Claude Hawley, of the University of Florida, presented as a paper before the American Political Science Association at its annual meeting, December 27-31, 1941. This manuscript is entitled "After Repeal, What?" It is by far the best single analysis of the effects of repeal that the author has seen.

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the primary elections in Florida the Negro vote after repeal remained virtually unchanged. When Negroes in Miami and other cities indicated their intentions of going to the polls they were deterred by Klan activities and other methods of dissuasion. In Louisiana they apparently did not even present themselves for registration, or if they did, they were refused registration because they were unable to break the red tape of voting that originally accompanied repeal or, later, because of illiteracy tests and other restrictions. Of a total of 702,543 voters who were registered in Louisiana on October 5, 1940, whites numbered 701,659 and only 884 were colored.

The release of voters in the lower-income brackets has not increased the pressure for liberal social legislation. Labor in the South has never taken a very strong attitude toward social reform. It has placed the blame for its weakness, according to a survey conducted by the United States Department of Labor, on poll-tax restrictions. In many respects, this alibi is correct. Undoubtedly, share croppers and the masses of labor are quite often too poor to pay the price of voting and thereby of making themselves felt in legislative assemblies. But repeal of the poll tax in and of itself is not likely to correct these failures. Freedom from the tax in Florida has certainly brought no great trend toward the enactment of liberal social laws. The same is true, with modifications, in Louisiana and North Carolina. It is quite correct to assume that when the whole adult population is free to vote, they will vote for better laws; but other factors, such as lack of education and improper leadership, intervene to defeat them in doing the very things they might otherwise feel constrained to do.

The abolition of the poll tax has not only increased the number of voters, but it also has removed certain aspects of corrupt politics. In those states where the poll tax has to be paid, candidates have often provided the funds necessary to secure poll-tax receipts. This procedure, of course, is illegal in every state, but the law is usually disregarded and the payment of poll taxes by political machines makes it easy to control large blocks of hand-picked followers. In Memphis, Atlanta, and Richmond and in certain other cities, Negroes are frequently voted in this way.

When Huey Long found that he could get along equally well without the poll tax, and at greatly reduced costs, he ordered its repeal. In Florida the faction in power came out for repeal partly because it feared the possible tactics of poll-tax politics which its opponents might follow. But where factions are confronted with narrow margins, repeal may shift the balance of power either way and therefore may or may not be a useful political device. The removal of the poll tax eliminates one of the principal incentives to political corruption, and if its elimination becomes general the tenor of politics may be considerably improved.

The extent to which removal of the poll tax has raised the caliber of political leadership is not so certain. In North Carolina, where repeal was effected more than twenty years ago, it is difficult to determine just what has happened, since there has been no study of the long-run effects of repeal. It would seem, however, that no remarkable changes have occurred. In Florida the results are about the same. Elected to the governorship without difficulty, even in spite of a large increase in the number of voters, was the man who was apparently slated for the place before repeal and elected to the United States senatorship was a conservative Democrat. Neither of these men had ever displayed any unusual capacities for state-wide leadership.

In Louisiana, when the poll tax was removed, no immediate change in political leaders took place. The one hundred and sixty thousand new voters cast their ballots for Long. But they were an unstable group; there was always the chance that they could be induced to turn to some other leader. Evidently this was exactly what happened in 1940. In spite of the fact that Richard W. Leche, Long's candidate for governor, defeated his opponents by 185,000 votes in 1936, Sam Huston Jones, the anti-Long reform candidate, defeated his opponent in 1940 by 19,000 votes. Undoubtedly, the opportunity of more people to express themselves at the polls had something to do with the change in Louisiana political leadership.

The repeal of the poll tax tends to equalize voting strength among different age groups as well as among different classes. In the poll-tax states there is a waiver of payment of the tax for citi-

zens of certain ages. The ages vary in the several states from forty-five to sixty and over. Those who belong to these age groups are permitted to vote without the presentation of poll-tax certificates. This arrangement provides a larger number of voters in the upper age brackets than in the lower and gives the older people a disproportionate voice in the affairs of government. Elimination of the tax corrects this situation.

If the Democratic party ever decides to apportion representatives to the National Democratic Convention on the basis of total votes cast, rather than on population, the repeal of the poll tax in the remaining eight states will become of more direct interest to party leaders and will probably receive their undivided support. If this method of procedure were adopted, the eight poll-tax states would have fewer delegates than the state of New York alone. Under such circumstances the power of the Solid South would be broken. But if the poll tax were eliminated and more people voted, the number of delegates assigned to the convention conceivably might be proportionally greater than the number from the two-party states with their split votes. If such action is ever taken by the Democratic party, the repeal of the poll tax in the eight remaining states might become an immediate reality.

It is generally pointed out that the returns from the poll tax are usually allocated to the public schools and that to remove it would be to decrease the contributions to public education. This contention falls of its own weight. The amount of money collected from the tax is very small. Seldom do receipts therefrom exceed one percent of the state's total revenues. To make up this loss in other ways would require little trouble. Moreover, the number of people who pay the tax is never large, and taxpayers can always avoid its payment altogether by simply staying away from the polls. If the purpose of the tax is to provide revenue, there is certainly no logic in tying it up with the privilege of the ballot. While almost every state has a poll or head tax of some kind as a part of its revenue system the returns from the tax are significant only in those areas where its collection is properly enforced and where its payment is divorced from the right of suffrage. In North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida loss of revenue

from the repeal of the poll tax did not make it necessary to reduce appropriations to the schools or to curtail any other government activities.

To complete the picture of poll-tax repeal, it is necessary to sketch the events of the legislative year of 1940-41. In Arkansas a bill for repeal was again presented to the legislature and received a favorable vote of forty-four to thirty-three; but the measure failed, since fifty-three votes are required to pass a constitutional amendment. In Virginia all candidates for the governorship declared themselves on the poll-tax issue. The candidate who favored the tax won in the August primaries, but the outgoing governor publicly condemned the tax. In Texas a bill was passed forbidding the addition of a municipal poll tax to the state tax requirement for voting. In Tennessee the State Democratic Convention came out for repeal and most of the candidates for the legislature ran on anti-poll-tax platforms, but when the legislature went into session favorable action failed to materialize. In Georgia two bills were introduced in the legislature calling for repeal and amendment of tax requirements, but they were lost in the committees to which they were referred. In Mississippi the governor, in his speeches, made the poll tax an issue, but nothing seems to have come from his action. In nearly all these states pressure for repeal continues. In Tennessee the slogan has become, "Pay the poll tax to end the poll tax."

The issue of the poll tax is no longer confined wholly to particular states of the South. The right to vote and the extent to which the people are permitted free exercise of this right are of vital importance to the entire nation. Anything that tends to disfranchise even the few ceases to be strictly a regional and becomes a national matter. The poll tax is no exception. Hence, Congressman Lee Geyer, of California, at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare introduced a bill in the House of Representatives in 1940 which is designed to deal with the poll tax on a national scale. The bill, due to its introduction later in the Senate by Claude Pepper, of Florida, has become known as the Geyer-Pepper bill. It calls for the abolition of the poll tax as "a prerequisite to voting or registering to vote at primaries or

general elections for President, Vice President, Electors for President or Vice President, or Senator or Member of the House of Representatives." Hearings have been held by committees of both houses of Congress. Whether or not the bill will become a law no one can predict, but there is an imposing array of forces lined up in favor of its passage, and that array of forces seems to be gathering increasing momentum.

FRED F. EDWARDS *VS.* THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

By *LEONARD W. MAYO*

THE HISTORY of the case of "Fred F. Edwards *vs.* the People of the State of California" is a human drama and a legal document of no mean importance.¹ The first "act" opens on December 21, 1939; the scene is the town of Marysville, California, and the leading character, Fred F. Edwards, is an employed citizen of the United States, who lives with his family on the outskirts of Marysville. As the story unfolds we find that Edwards left home on December 21, 1939, and drove to Spur, Texas, where, three days later, he met his wife's brother-in-law, Frank Duncan, another principal in the drama. It had been arranged in advance that Edwards would bring Duncan back to California, with the hope that he might find gainful employment. Duncan had been employed by the Work Projects Administration for some time before leaving Texas. It is important, in the light of subsequent events, to note that he was employable, although at the time the story opens he was not actually employed. This was known to Edwards, who also knew that Duncan had twenty dollars in his possession when they left Texas on January 1, 1940, for the return trip to Marysville, California.

The men entered California via Yuma, Arizona, on January 3, 1940, and arrived in Marysville on the fifth day of January. By this time the twenty dollars which had been in Mr. Duncan's possession at the start of the trip was exhausted, and it therefore

¹ The writer is greatly indebted to Robert K. Lamb, Staff Director of the Tolan Committee, whose recent report on the Edwards case has furnished the basis for this article.

transpired that when Edwards and Duncan entered the state the latter was without funds. This too is of importance, as later events will reveal. Frank Duncan remained at the Edwards home, a one-story shack on a small acreage, for a period of ten days, after which he was granted relief by the Farm Security Administration. After a somewhat longer period he obtained remunerative employment and became a self-supporting citizen.

These are the bare facts of a case which is now a *cause célèbre* and around which a storm of legal controversy arose, the reverberations of which are still heard throughout the country.

The first scene of Act II is laid in the justice's courtroom, township of Marysville, county of Yuba, on February 7, 1940. Fred F. Edwards stands convicted of the violation of a statute known as Section 2615 of the Welfare and Institutions Code of California. This statute, the history of which can be traced back to 1860, reads as follows:

Every person, firm or corporation, or officer or agent thereof that brings or assists in bringing into the State any indigent person who is not a resident of the State, knowing him to be an indigent person, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

Edwards was tried and found guilty under this section for bringing his wife's brother-in-law, Frank Duncan, from Spur, Texas, to Marysville, California, under the conditions related above.

Scene 2 of Act II is laid in the Superior Court of California on June 26, 1940. This court, to which appeal was made following the decision of the justice's court of the township of Marysville, upheld the decision of the latter court, after which Edwards formally petitioned that an appeal be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Jurisdiction of the appeal was noted by the Supreme Court on December 16, 1940, and the case was reached for oral argument on April 28, 1941.

The next scene brings new and important characters into the drama, characters who had already been at work behind the scenes for some months, and who play leading roles in many current dramas on the American stage, namely, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. The latter, appointed by the Sev-

enty-Seventh Congress of the United States under House Resolution 113, is under the chairmanship of the Hon. John H. Tolan, a representative of the Seventh Congressional District of California.

The American Civil Liberties Union had been working for months to prepare briefs in behalf of Edwards and was represented by Samuel Slaff at each court appearance of the former, while Mr. Tolan requested and obtained permission to appear before the Supreme Court to present such findings of his committee on defense migration as were pertinent to the Edwards case.

The third act is laid in the Supreme Court of the United States, where oral arguments were presented by both Mr. Slaff and Mr. Tolan on April 28 and 29, 1941. There were no representatives present at this time from the county of Yuba or the state of California, hence the Supreme Court ordered a re-argument of the case for October 13, 1941, and requested the Attorney General of California, or a representative appointed by him, to be present to give an official interpretation of the California statute around which the case revolved. Again Representative Tolan requested and received permission to appear and to file a brief on behalf of the Committee on Defense Migration.

The briefs prepared by Mr. Tolan and Mr. Slaff are significant human documents pungent with pertinent information that strikes to the heart of the constitutional rights of American citizens. The briefs were of such a nature and joined the issues so clearly that Act III represents the highest point of interest in the entire drama. The main factors in the case were agreed upon by the parties involved, and the spotlight of the Supreme Court of the United States was turned with full force on the California statute which set forth the purposes of the state in ruling that persons without funds could not legally be brought across her state lines.

Laymen frequently regard a law, even one directly affecting the lives of human beings, as a vague pronouncement on a forgotten statute book to be invoked but rarely and then, perhaps, subject to appeal. For this reason, among others, far too little attention

is paid to the passage of laws and their enforcement and usually no analyses are made to determine their impact on community life. It transpires, therefore, that individuals or pressure groups are frequently able without substantial opposition to prepare and promulgate bills which have deleterious effects on the freedom and rights of individual citizens.

As Act III progresses, the briefs presented bring into full view questions bearing on the main areas of controversy. Among these were the following:

1. Does the California statute upon which Edwards was convicted constitute an unlawful interference with foreign commerce?
2. Is the word "indigent" as it appears in the statute too indefinite to supply "a reasonable test under police powers"?
3. Does the exclusion of citizens of the United States from entering a state constitute "a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment" (providing, substantially, that a citizen may work and live where he chooses)?
4. Can a state properly make it a crime for one person to bring, or assist in bringing, a so-called "indigent" person into the state when entrance by an indigent person is no crime under any statute of that state?

The key questions brought out were whether a state may, consistent with the United States Constitution and "under guise of an indigency law, make it unlawful for one person to assist another in the exercise of the latter's constitutional rights" and whether a state may thus regulate commerce among the states, or abridge one's privileges as a citizen by restricting his movement from state to state. The case, therefore, revolved around the constitutionality of Section 2615 of the California code.

The briefs filed and the arguments presented in behalf of the plaintiff were both forceful and unanimous in stating that Section 2615 was not constitutional. Of the numerous precedents cited and material presented in support of this opinion the following was perhaps typical, much of which is quoted verbatim from Part 26 of the Washington hearings of the Tolan Committee:

The movement of people in the United States is as old as the Nation itself and has been a dominant factor in developing our broad culture and in the pursuit of our necessary commerce and business. The American people have always possessed an extraordinary geographic mobility. Twenty-three percent of the country's native population, for example, or 25,000,000 people were living outside of the States in which they were born as of 1940.

If California may legislate to the effect that no persons without funds shall be assisted across her borders, the same power may be lodged in each of the other forty-seven states. "The fact is that the migratory-casual worker is a necessary adjunct to our highly seasonal or intermittent movement between States and is an essential to American agriculture and industry. . . . More than a million farm families move from one farm to another each year." Over two million workers cross state lines yearly to work, or in search of employment, and an outstanding characteristic of these families is their dislike of relief and their steady search for permanent employment and settlement. "The great majority of these people are native white stock. Many are descendants of the oldest families in the eastern and southeastern States."

Mr. Henderson, attorney for the Kern County branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out in his brief that, "if a State may constitutionally exclude persons on the ground that their admission will affect adversely the public health, peace or welfare, the words 'indigent persons' are not sufficiently definite to bring the class so described within the class which thus may be excluded."

He pointed out further that "'indigent persons' are but one class of those who are to receive relief . . .," and that "the Supreme Court of the United States has ordered that aliens be admitted to a State saying that the conditions of the labor market could not justify a finding that persons were likely to become public charges."

In this connection it will be recalled that Frank Duncan, who came from Texas to California, had been at work in the latter state and hence employed for a considerable period.

Mr. Slaff, of the American Civil Liberties Union, reserved some

of his most telling strokes for his discussion of the relation of Section 2615 to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. He wrote in part,

The dispossessed and economically disinherited must have the legally guaranteed minimal right of freedom of movement;—the same right to seek the improvement of their fortunes, to seek health, to change their social environment, as those more fortunately situated. . . . No democracy can afford . . . to permit the legal status of the individual's "liberty" to fluctuate with his economic condition.

The Fourteenth Amendment is no fair-weather protection of the liberties of persons. Its operation is not limited to times of economic security when there is no pressure upon States to curtail liberty.

As to whether it can be considered a crime for one person to assist another in the exercise of his constitutional rights, Mr. Slaff had the following to say, in part:

If California is to be permitted to use the economic condition of the indigent migrant and the knowledge of that condition as a standard of guilt and a lash to drive him away and to drive away aid from him . . . every State in the Union may do likewise and America may be converted into 48 economic concentration camps.

A natural tendency of the California statute is to intimidate, . . . not only one who would or might transport an indigent migrant but also the migrants themselves.

The result is, thus, frequently to leave those who would seek work helpless to move to those points where employment may be waiting.

Said Mr. Slaff, in summarizing one of his briefs:

California is obviously seeking to prevent indirectly what it cannot prevent directly. It is attempting to prevent indigent persons from taking up residence in California by intimidating those who would assist them. . . . A State may not bar one whom it may consider a potential relief recipient from entrance; and similarly it may not make one who aids his entrance a criminal.

Mr. Slaff concluded that "a question of this nature calls for determination by the one court which speaks not for one State or section but for the whole Country."

Scene 2 of Act III is devoted to the defense of the State of

California relative to the disputed statute. The State attorneys claimed that,

the issue is not the power of the State to exclude indigent persons but is merely the power of the State to define as an offense the act of bringing or assisting in bringing indigent persons into the State in instances when the persons have knowledge of such indigency and in view of the fact that the results of such action would be to necessitate care and support.

The attorneys for the State suggested that "a more fundamental issue is whether the State has the power to recognize the effect of an influx of destitute or indigent persons into the State upon the health, morals and general welfare of the State." It was finally concluded that this act was upheld "upon the theory that although the legislature was willing to allow immigration of indigent persons into the State to follow a normal course, it was desirous of preventing any promotion and stimulation of the influx as would increase the migration and render its effect more serious and acute."

Scene 3 is concerned with the decision of the Supreme Court, when the opinion of that court was delivered by Justice Byrnes, who was making his first appearance in this capacity following his recent appointment to the bench. The opinion centered primarily around the issue of interstate commerce and held that there are boundaries to the permissible area of state legislative activities. "None is more certain," it pointed out, "than the prohibition against attempts on the part of any single State to isolate itself from difficulties common to all of them by restraining the transportation of persons and property across its borders." Justice Byrnes presented the view that the concept underlying Section 2615 is based on the philosophy that each community must care for its own indigent, but that recent times have proved that the theory of the Elizabethan Poor Laws no longer fits the facts. "We are of the opinion," concluded the Justice, "that Section 2615 is not a valid exercise of the police power of California, that it imposes an unconstitutional burden upon interstate commerce, and that the conviction under it cannot be sustained."

Mr. Justice Douglas wrote a concurring opinion, centering his

attention on those aspects of the disputed section which related to the Fourteenth Amendment. He stated that the "right of free movement is a right of National citizenship and that to uphold Section 2615 would permit those who were stigmatized by a State as indigents, paupers, or vagabonds to be relegated to an inferior class of citizenship and would prevent a citizen because he was poor from seeking new horizons in other States." Justices Black and Murphy concurred in the conclusion reached by Justice Douglas to the effect that "mobility is basic to any guarantee of freedom of opportunity and that the State statute here involved runs afoul of the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The third concurring opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Jackson, who focused his attention on the rights of the individual citizen on a still broader base:

The world is even more upside down than I had supposed it to be, if California must accept aliens in deference to their Federal privileges but is free to turn back citizens of the United States unless we treat them as subjects of commerce. . . . A man's mere property status, without more, cannot be used by a State to test, qualify, or limit his rights as a citizen of the United States. "Indigence" in itself is neither a source of rights nor a basis for denying them. The mere state of being without funds is a neutral fact—constitutionally an irrelevance, like race, creed, or color. . . . California had no right to make the condition of Duncan's purse, with no evidence of violation by him of any law or social policy which caused it, the basis of excluding him or punishing one who extended him aid.

Act III of the Edwards drama closes with these additional significant words of Justice Jackson:

Rich or penniless, Duncan's citizenship under the Constitution pledges his strength to the defense of California as a part of the United States, and his right to migrate to any part of the land he must defend, is something she must respect under the same instrument. Unless this Court is willing to say that citizenship of the United States means at least this much to the citizen, then our heritage of constitutional privileges and immunities is only a promise to the ear to be broken to the hope, a teasing illusion like a munificent bequest in a pauper's will.

The final act of the drama of "Edwards *vs.* the People" has

not yet been written, but its author will be the people of the United States. It should be our purpose, having read and pondered the first three acts, to write a conclusion that will not only bring full justice to all the Edwardses and Duncans in the land, but will change the name of the drama from "Fred F. Edwards *vs.* the People of the State of California" to a title that will more nearly convey the basic philosophy of our Constitution, to wit, that Fred Edwards and Frank Duncan are and must remain, *of* and not *vs.* the people.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN WARTIME

By GERARD D. REILLY

IN APPRAISING THE ROLE of the United States Government in industrial relations in wartime, it is important to remember that until 1932 our country lagged far behind other industrial societies so far as regulatory legislation was concerned. This, I suppose, was due largely to a tradition that labor problems were matters for the states rather than for the central government. Under the impact of the depression this historic concept changed, with the result that Congress, responding to enlightened public opinion, enacted a national system of social insurance, a quasi-judicial method of dealing with labor relations, and a comprehensive statute regarding maximum hours and minimum wages.

As a result of this legislation, the United States was in a far better position at the beginning of this war to cope with the necessity for maintaining uninterrupted production and recruiting a mobile labor supply than was the case when the nation was confronted with a similar crisis in 1917. Paradoxically enough, however, this very legislation has been under heavy attack from certain sections of the press. Certainly, the learned commentators and editorial writers who contend that these statutes are an impediment to our war effort and that many of these laws must be scrapped if our productive capacity is to be fully utilized are either ignorant of history or have deliberately overlooked the chapter on labor policies in the last World War.

With the exception of the transportation field, there was only

one sentence in the code of Federal laws in 1917 which dealt with industrial relations. This was a provision in the act of March 4, 1913, creating the Department of Labor, which authorized the Secretary of Labor to act as mediator in industrial disputes and to appoint commissioners of conciliation whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace so required. Although, pursuant to this authority, the Secretary had appointed a handful of men as conciliators—the nucleus of the present Conciliation Service—there was, in 1917, virtually no agency in the Federal Government which had the function of dealing with labor disputes in the war industries. Faced with the problem of dealing with a wave of strikes which accompanied the shortage of skilled workers and the rising costs of living incident to the outbreak of the war, President Wilson convened a conference between representative officers of the American Federation of Labor and representatives of industrialists to develop a set of policies and standards.

After several days of deliberation, the conferees reported to the President that they had agreed, not only upon the establishment of a Federal labor board that would adjudicate disputes which might affect the prosecution of the war, but also on a comprehensive set of principles to guide the decisions of this board. The parties first agreed that there should be no strikes or lock-outs during the war. Then followed a statement of principles. This statement recognized the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, and provided that employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions or for engaging in trade union activities. With respect to the union shop, the statement contemplated the stabilization of existing conditions. This guaranteed maintenance of the union shop where it already existed, but stated that in establishments where union and non-union persons were employed together, the continuance of the open shop should not be deemed a grievance. With respect to labor standards, the conference recommended that established safeguards and regulations for the protection of health and safety should not be relaxed, and that when women were employed on work ordinarily performed by men, their wages should be the same. The conference further recommended that the question of

hours of labor should be settled with regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the workers; that the basic standard should be an eight-hour day; that all workers were entitled to a living wage; that in determining wages, minimum rates of pay should be established which would assure the worker and his family health and reasonable comfort; and that in fixing hours, wages, and conditions of labor, regard should be given to the standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

Most of these principles had already become matters of statute law several years before the outbreak of the present war. Sections 7 and 8 of the National Labor Relations Act had insured to the workers the right of self-organization and collective bargaining, and protected employees from discharge or discrimination for union activities. The Walsh-Healey Act, which requires the observance of maximum hour and minimum wage laws by factories having government contracts, had established the principle of time-and-one-half for hours in excess of eight per day or forty per week, and had provided for the payment of wages corresponding to the prevailing wages paid in the locality in the same or similar industries. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1937 had abolished any distinction between men and women in the determination of minimum wages and had established machinery insuring that all workers in industries affecting interstate commerce should receive certain minimum wages. It will thus be seen that the need for a set of guiding principles for the industry and labor conference which President Roosevelt convened December, 1941, was much less than was the case in 1917 when there was no framework of statutory law upon which to build.

Consequently, when the national defense crisis focused attention anew on the importance of maintaining industrial peace, the Federal Government had considerable machinery already available. In addition to the special mediation boards in the railroad and maritime fields, there were the expanded and revitalized Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor and the National Labor Relations Board.

Although the Conciliation Service had dwindled into a minor

agency by the end of the last war, in recent years it had undergone reorganization and expansion, so that in 1939 it had a field staff of about seventy conciliators, enough to handle some eighteen hundred disputes a year. This staff was augmented in 1940. Regional offices were established throughout the country with the objective of rendering twenty-four-hour service. Employers and unions were encouraged to invoke the assistance of these offices whenever strikes were threatened rather than waiting until strike votes were taken. While these efforts were effective in reducing the number of stoppages, the protracted dispute in Allis-Chalmers and the bituminous industry emphasized the need of additional machinery. By Executive order, the President declared it a matter of national policy that there should be no strikes or lockouts in defense industries and established a National Defense Mediation Board to handle disputes which the commissioners of conciliation had not succeeded in adjusting. Although the Board had no power other than to mediate the major disputes and to make public its recommendations when it failed to achieve a direct settlement, public interest was so compelling, that the President on three occasions exercised his constitutional prerogatives by sending in the Army to take over strikebound plants when orders of the Board were defied. As a result, there was a marked increase in the number of disputes which were adjusted directly by the Board or by the Conciliation Service.

The President's statement of policy also had a profound effect upon the work of the NLRB. This board was not intended to be an adjustment agency. Its primary duties are to protect the right of employees to bargain collectively, to prevent discrimination against union members and domination of labor organizations by employers, to define proper units for collective bargaining, and to certify particular unions as representatives when disputes arise. Since union recognition has in the past, however, been one of the principal sources of labor controversy and was the most thorny issue with which the old War Labor Board of 1918 had to deal, the passage of the Wagner Act tended to reduce the number of strikes arising out of such controversies by providing a forum in which they could be adjudicated. In this way the Board's ma-

chinery was available to adjust grievances arising from discriminatory discharges or refusals to bargain which hitherto could have been settled only by resort to direct action, amounting frequently to protracted tests of economic strength. Despite the passage of the act, however, a large number of strikes in recent years were precipitated by such controversies. This was due, in part, to the resistance of employers in the traditionally open-shop industries to union organization. It was due also to the length of time attendant upon the procedures required by the act. Since the primary purpose of the rules established by the Board (contemplating a hearing before a trial examiner with opportunity for filing exceptions and arguing orally before the full Board), and the provisions in the act for judicial review are designed to see to it that parties to a controversy are assured of due process, the efficacy of the act in averting strikes has been diminished by the long delays incident to litigation. While the Board had cut down its original time lag considerably from 1937 to 1940, even in 1940 the average time required for a representation case was about four months; for a complaint case about six months, and if recourse was then had to the courts, possibly an additional year.

When the unions were asked, however, to renounce the right to strike, the number of new cases filed nearly doubled within a period of six months. Congress, by supplemental appropriation, made a substantial increase in the Board's staff. The procedure in representation cases was streamlined by utilizing the technique of the consent election under which all the parties agreed to an election and a certification of representatives without a formal hearing and allowed the regional director to make final decisions on questions of eligibility to vote and the opening of challenged ballots. In several instances the Defense Mediation Board assisted in expediting the final settlement of complaint cases by getting the parties to agree to accept a Board order as final without taking the case to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Some of the most delicate problems with which the Board has been faced have arisen out of the divided labor movement. In many industries competing unions have launched organizational drives after agreements have been signed with a rival union. The

Board has attempted to discourage interunion raiding by placing greater emphasis upon the legal aspect of collective agreements as an element of stability. For example, in the Owens-Illinois case the Board, departing from earlier precedent, held that a collective agreement for two years was a bar to a new election, even though another union during the second year of the contract claimed to have a majority of the designations. Similarly, in the Mill B case, the Board upheld the operation of an automatic renewal clause despite the fact that a rival union had filed a petition before the period of the renewed contract had actually begun to run.

One of the most novel issues with which the Board has been confronted has arisen in the new defense plants, particularly airplane and munitions factories financed by the Defense Plant Corporation. The act gives effect to closed-shop agreements only when they have been made with a representative of a majority of the employees. In several instances attempts have been made by unions and employers to enter into closed-shop agreements before plants were in operation, thus compelling all new applicants for employment to join the union having the contract. The Board has sought to prevent the possible will of the majority from being thwarted by adopting a special rule with regard to expanding units. In a series of decisions beginning with the Westinghouse cases the Board declined to entertain petitions for certification of a majority until a fair cross section of the operations in the new plant was under way. After a plant is well into production, the Board will entertain a petition, but a certification of a majority will not continue to be valid after there has been a substantial increase in the number of employees in the new plant. In this way one of the abuses which incurred considerable criticism in the construction of cantonments in the first phase of the defense period has been to a large extent averted.

Despite the improved procedure of the NLRB and the gradual success of the Defense Mediation Board in securing compliance with its recommendations, there was one area of unresolved conflict which in the fall of 1941 threatened to disrupt the Administration's efforts. In September the Mediation Board began a series of unsuccessful attempts to bring to arbitration a dispute on the

closed-shop issue of the captive coal mines of the steel companies. In the face of three demands by the President that the mines be kept open, a strike was called by the head of United Mine Workers. In mid-November the Board handed down a decision denying the union shop in the captive mines, whereupon the Congress of Industrial Organization's members withdrew from the Board with the parting thrust that "the opinion disclosed that regardless of the merits of any case, labor unions shall be denied the right of normal growth and legitimate aspiration, such as the union shop, and the traditional open-shop policy of the anti-labor employers shall prevail."

This case sharpened the issue as to whether or not majority unions, having abandoned the right to strike, should in return be guaranteed union security against hostile employers and dissident workers. This strike set loose a train of restrictive labor legislation which culminated in the passage by the House on December 3, 1941, of the Smith bill, which, in addition to freezing the status of open and closed shops, deprives violators of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act and the relief and social security laws. Before the Senate could act on this bill, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor occurred.

During the following weeks moves for antistrike legislation waned; labor unions pledged uninterrupted war production. But basic issues of union security and wage control were not settled. Within a few weeks the President found it necessary to call an industry-labor conference with Mr. William H. Davis as moderator and Senator Elbert D. Thomas, of Utah, as associate moderator. The conference lasted three days and on December 23 a program was accepted, recommending that there would be no strikes or lockouts, that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means, and that the President would set up a War Labor Board. That the President intended union security to be a subject of arbitration under the new War Labor Board is made clear by his instructions to the conference that "the three points agreed upon cover of necessity all disputes that may arise between labor and management."

The promised War Labor Board was established January 12,

1942, by Executive order. Mr. Davis was appointed chairman of the tripartite body, this time endowed with power to make final awards. The new board was not to trespass on the jurisdictions of the National Labor Relations Act or the Railway Labor Act, nor to handle disputes for which other procedures are provided ". . . until those procedures have been exhausted."

The course of labor legislation, dollar purchasing power, and military events will all condition the effectiveness of the War Labor Board. We can, however, recognize in its experience to date the two issues upon which its decisions are of utmost concern to the war effort. These are the questions of wages and union security. Lacking a prescribed policy, the Board has met issues as it came to them, disclaiming that any decision set a precedent yet in fact reaching toward a code that might combine rigidity of principle with flexibility of application to varying situations.

In its wage determinations these successive decisions illustrate how the Board in its first few months groped its way through the economic forest. In February it reduced by one-third the North-South differential between aluminum company plants; it took into account employer ability to pay increases; it showed itself disposed to raise the wages of low-level groups to standards of "decency and health"; it warned highly paid workers not to expect their wage level to keep step-by-step pace with the rising cost of living. On the latter point it agreed with Price Administrator Leon Henderson and flatly opposed the stand of the joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. War Labor Council which the President had appointed in January as his consultant on labor policy.

In March the Board suggested that an anticipated rise in living costs justified partial increases, based on ability to pay and reviewable in six months.

In April it refused to act, unless both parties should consent, in a case where wages had been frozen in a contract between them. But where a contract did allow wage reconsideration the Board intervened to direct an increase in line with earnings.

On April 15 the language of the International Harvester decision, which talked about "an historical crossroads" and "fundamental questions of war labor policy," revealed that the principles

set down in it might be taken as a general guide. Henceforth the "minimum guarantee" would be: a living standard compatible with health and decency; protection of real wage levels arrived at by collective bargaining; increases in the substandard brackets; discouragement of any race between wages and the cost of living but resort to the Board if real wages lag too far behind in that hazardous contest.

In the International Harvester decision the Board also went a considerable distance in formulating a policy on the union security issue. Back of it was a series of steps in protecting majority unions from hostile employers or rival union groups—steps necessitated because the abandonment of the right to strike makes unions vulnerable to the point of endangering the peace of vital production plants. Over several months these variations appeared in recommended contracts: employer assurance that he favors union membership; individual workers' pledges to retain membership; denials of closed shop but provisions for check-off; provisions for maintaining the *status quo*. Out of these compromises emerged the Harvester formula, that a union would be entitled to maintenance of membership if a majority of present members should so vote by secret ballot.

This gradual approach to a maintenance of membership policy incurred sharp criticism from the employer members of the Board, and the issue came to the forefront in the Federal shipbuilding case, involving the Kearny Shipyard, operated by a subsidiary of United States Steel. The Defense Mediation Board had previously taken the position that this company should sign a maintenance of membership contract. The company had declined, and the yard had been operated for some months by the Navy Department. When it was returned to private management the same question again arose. Counsel for the company urged very strongly that to comply with such a decision would be a violation of the National Labor Relations Act. The Board, however, maintained its original position, and subsequently the company announced that it would comply with the award of the Board. In view of the publicity which this case had received, it is quite possible that other industries will accept this precedent and thus

settle a central point of war labor policy. There still remains the problem of wage stabilization, which impinges so much upon the fate of the President's revenue proposals and price policies that it is difficult to predict what course the Board will take.

The labor relations agencies of the Government have enjoyed greater success than anyone could have hoped prior to December of 1941. Since the outbreak of the war not a single strike has occurred under the authorization of the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. Less than 8/1000 of one percent of the workers in war plants ceased to work as a result of any labor disputes during the first four months of 1942. In proportion to the number of workers involved, our present strike record is about the same that England has been able to achieve. Whether this successful record can be maintained lies not so much in the development of a particular formula or any procedural magic for handling elements of industrial unrest, as in the coöperation secured by both parties to industrial disputes in the interest of national unity in order to meet an infinitely more serious competition in war material production than our country's enemies could offer in 1917.

MAN-POWER MOBILIZATION FOR WAR PRODUCTION

By ROBERT K. LAMB

THE PROBLEM OF FULL USE of labor supply in wartime is just beginning to be understood in this country after two years of national emergency. The creation of a war man-power commission signalizes this maturing of our understanding, but it cannot be said to represent our arrival at a fully mature system of mobilizing and utilizing our labor supply. Indeed, the delay in establishing the Commission has reflected the prevailing uncertainty as to the steps required and as to the probable acceptance of the measures proposed.

The Executive order establishing the Commission centralizes the supervision of tasks hitherto performed by a multiplicity of agencies. In the order the chairman is authorized to:

Establish policies and prescribe regulations governing all Federal programs relating to the recruitment, vocational training, and placement of workers to meet the needs of industry and agriculture.

From other parts of the order it is to be inferred, however, that such a commission is a necessary first step before greater centralization of control and operation can be obtained. Particular stress is laid upon the statistical problems connected with man-power mobilization. This appears to be an admission that to date we have lacked any adequate estimates of employment or unemployment, by region or industry, or even national totals, upon which to base the planning of our war production program.

In March, 1941, the Tolan Committee published, in Part III of

its first annual report, a comprehensive analysis of the use of labor in wartime. This included American experience in the First World War; labor mobilization in the current war economies of Germany, England, and Japan; a discussion of general war economies; and man-power mobilization under our national defense program. Since last March the Committee has also reverted to the subject in its interim reports.

Studies carried on by the Tolan Committee have shown that while it is relatively easy to describe the general direction which man-power mobilization must follow, it is universally hard in practice to carry out this mobilization at a rapid pace. Both the United Nations and the Axis could draw upon a wealth of experience from the First World War. To some extent this has proved, however, an actual handicap. The magnitude of modern war is greater, the degree of mechanization, both in the armed forces and on the production front at home, is more intensive, and the searching alterations in our way of life demanded by modern war are more thoroughgoing.

Among our enemies Germany especially has used her opportunities to the greatest effect over a long span of years. Since 1933 she has been fashioning her economy into one gigantic enterprise dedicated to war production. From a depressed nation whose unemployment had long tended to stabilize at a staggering figure, and whose abundance of idle men was matched by an abundance of idle plants and resources, Hitler rapidly turned Germany into a scarcity economy with one gigantic and potentially unlimited buyer: the Third Reich's arms program.

As soon as scarcity appeared, a whole series of administrative controls began to be introduced: Competition for the available labor supply was eliminated by rigorous control through job placement by a nationwide employment service. A system of priorities was applied to labor, rationing it like any other productive factor. Registration of the entire employable population was required in order to guide allocation of the labor supply. Skills were distributed as rapidly as possible by training courses, compulsory apprenticeship systems, compulsory subdivision of work, and reorganization of the technical courses in the schools

to produce semiskilled workers. New sources of supply were tapped by drawing into production all available labor reserves: women, children, the aged, those partially employed in agriculture, and minority groups. Even in Germany, with its ruthless dictatorship, this was not accomplished overnight; the last steps were taken shortly before the attack on Poland.

There are signs that we are preparing to undertake the same general measures for man-power mobilization. Our delays have undoubtedly been occasioned in considerable measure by our reluctance to institute such sweeping interferences in our accustomed ways of life. Democratically, we resent the regimentation which modern war implies. There are abundant signs, however, that the demands of war are forcing us to move in this direction. In a written statement submitted to the Tolan Committee in February, 1942, General Lewis B. Hershey testified that:

A survey of our manpower reveals that there are not enough young, 100 percent perfect men to fill the total manpower requirements of all the users of manpower, if we contemplate the possibility of having an armed force of 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 men or more and the production of matériel with which to equip it and also supplement the matériel requirements of our allies.

This, of course, is an understatement of the case. Donald H. Davenport, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, told the Committee on the same day that by the fourth quarter of 1942 he expected that war industries would be employing 15,000,000 persons as against 5,000,000 in the same quarter of 1941, while he estimated that the armed forces would rise from 2,000,000 to 4,200,000 in the same period. He expected nondefense industry to yield about eight million of the needed increases for the armed forces and war industries. Of course, many of these workers will continue to work where they are and to make products only slightly altered for military purposes. Many more will be uprooted and must move considerable distances to new jobs. After all such shifts, there will still be a great need for the work of those never hitherto employed or of women who have left the labor market.

The figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics are admittedly approximations, based upon voluntary coöperation from em-

ployers. The Bureau of Employment Security also receives forecasts from employers and has its own summaries parallel to, but differing from, those of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Also engaged in making competing estimates of labor requirements are the Army; the Navy; the National Resources Planning Board; and, for their own sectors, such agencies as the Maritime Commission, etc. The selective service figures will be kept by the local draft boards, but there will be a national count on the occupational questionnaire. Part of the occupational draft card will be made out in duplicate and turned over to the local employment office. Records of changes are, of course, accessible at the draft board whenever the local employment office is interested in an individual worker registered with that board. No basis is afforded in these various records for an adequate control of hiring, even in critical skills. The United States Employment Service does not yet have the right to require employers to hire through its local offices, nor is it equipped to meet such a demand. In fact, it frequently has operated both against its own local interests and those of the selective service by its practice of group interviews arranged for employers from distant places who take the cream of a local supply of certain specified talents; for example, recruiting by West coast airplane plants in the Midwest.

The creation of a War Manpower Commission cannot fail to improve matters, especially by making better statistical estimates generally available. On the other hand, it remains to be seen what the effect of the new Executive order will be upon the labor supply and training functions of the War Production Board.

The Tolan Committee, in its First, Second, and Third Interim Reports, has treated extensively the subject of full utilization of our labor supply. It has taken the position that mobilization and training of man power are inextricably related to the proper organization of war production. It is the Committee's view that we should long since have planned the closing down of those peacetime industries capable of war production. Such shutdowns should have been preceded by adequate plans for shifting their workers to war jobs, wherever necessary, and for training them for such jobs.

Perhaps it is inevitable that a democracy should back into its preparations for war rather than face up to them squarely. Whether abstractly inevitable or not, such has proven in practice to be our approach. We find ourselves after nearly two years of national emergency with a War Production Board which, in the estimation of the Tolan Committee, is still far from an all-out effort. The smaller firms in the durable goods industries remain largely outside the war effort. Even the large firms with the bulk of the war orders (fifty-six firms still have 75 percent of the dollar volume of all war orders) are producing these war contracts principally in new plants into which Uncle Sam has poured billions of dollars of critical materials and new machinery.

Conversion of the peacetime plants of large-scale industry is still lagging badly. Mr. Nelson has created a planning committee and a progress-reporting group. Both these outfits are staffed with capable men. Neither is able to be more than 50 percent effective, because the organization of the WPB is unequipped to gather the basic information upon which adequate progress reporting and successful forward planning can operate.

These functions require that the WPB shall disregard the lines of individual firms and individual industries and treat all American industry, and especially our metal-working capacity, and the production and transportation of materials as one interconnected unit. These functions also require that, as far as possible, the actual letting of contracts and expediting of production shall be decentralized out of Washington and into the regions. They require that these regional operations shall balance the production of all firms, small and large, and maintain a continuing reporting service to inform the regional offices as to the full utilization of all available men, machines, and materials.

Instead, procurement is operated largely by the armed services. These services base their requests for appropriations upon the limited capacity of the largest firms to which they are accustomed to look during peacetime for their production of military goods. Emphasis throughout is upon speedy letting of contracts. Once the contract is signed, the rate of production and the full use of the capacity of the firm to produce are determined by the indi-

vidual company. These practices have inevitably resulted in piling up backlogs of contracts in the hands of the largest firms and consequent postponement of the delivery schedules. These firms subcontract as little as possible, and then largely to affiliated companies.

The WPB superimposes upon these operations of the services a structure of industry divisions in Washington, staffed primarily with trade association executives and representatives of interested companies. In spite of the large amount of public discussion of the extent to which these business representatives have interfered with the maximization of output it seems fair to say that most of the essential operations of actual contract letting take place somewhere between the ordnance districts and Washington offices of the armed forces and the individual firms who bid successfully on the contracts. Moreover, Mr. Nelson and the policy-makers in the WPB are transferring increasing portions of their responsibility to the armed forces rather than employing the authority given by the Executive order to centralize responsibility in the Board. The effect of this is bound to be a decrease in the area within which the operations of the planning committee and the progress-reporting group can operate to reorganize the over-all war production program and expedite its output.

Much of our information about the success of the war production program is misleading. It is well to remember that most of the output comes from newly constructed plants and not from peacetime industrial capacity converted to war purposes. Once such new plants get into operation, it is inevitable that we shall have an increased output. Measured by the job in hand this output is still far below our necessities. To defeat the Axis, the rates of Allied production must run three to four times the Axis output during 1943. Moreover, production in the balance of 1942 is far more crucial than an equal rate of production would be in 1943. The battles of the summer of 1942 cannot fail to have a determining effect upon the length of the war, which means that the production of May, June, and July is important out of all proportion to the production of next January, February, and March.

Every piece of war material added now by smaller producers will have a telling effect on our role overseas in 1942.

The Tolan Committee believes that these problems are inextricably bound up with the successful use of the labor supply. Our hundred largest corporations and their affiliates do not employ more than a fraction of the labor available to the durable goods industries. As the production of war goods expands there is bound to be a conflict, between these producers and those of the smaller industries, for the employment of the available force.

Employment in the smaller plants and in the smaller communities is on the decline. Some of this is inevitable as the non-essential consumer goods industries go out of business for the duration. Much of it is by no means inevitable, provided that these smaller firms can either be given subcontracts or be pooled for war production. Present disorderly practices in the labor market are leading, however, to the luring of these workers from declining employment opportunities in the smaller communities to the expanding employment in areas of concentrated contracts.

This migratory movement is pulling the props out from under hundreds of smaller communities, especially throughout the Middle West. Meanwhile, representatives of the communities to which this tide is flowing have come to the Tolan Committee equally dismayed by the question of what will become of these people after the war is over. Many of these representatives are prepared to go to their state legislatures to urge a raise in the settlement requirements from two and three years to five and ten years. The effect on the morale of considerable sections of our country is exceedingly bad. The effect on the war production program is equally unfortunate. In short, planlessness in our war production program is directly reflected in the dislocation of our labor market.

Without a direct coördination between production planning and employment planning we must expect that the War Manpower Commission can serve only two subsidiary functions: first, reporting after the event the trends of employment in production which have developed; and second, emergency rescue jobs for communities and firms which are especially hard hit. We have had over a year of such emergency rescue work, and it is the

opinion of the Tolan Committee that this work has been almost universally inadequate to the problem. It could hardly be otherwise.

We cannot afford during the next twelve months to repeat the mistakes of the first eighteen months of the national emergency. The Labor Division, in the National Defense Advisory Commission, in the Office of Production Management, and now in the WPB, has been a stepchild from the beginning; even on paper its status has slumped until now the labor supply functions of the Labor Division of the WPB are being transferred to the War Manpower Commission. Perhaps it is too early to justify the statement that this transfer represents a further curtailment in the effectiveness of the labor supply functions. It is, nevertheless, my belief that instead of divorcing the labor supply functions from the operations of the WPB we must sooner, rather than later, raise the status of these operations to an equal position with those of the WPB. We must, furthermore endow the Production Planning Committee with the vision to plan man-power allocations as part of the allocations of contracts.

Many of the tasks which today seem difficult, if not impossible of accomplishment, will be carried through when we begin to understand that the functions of procurement, planning, and progress reporting must be jointly operated and that effective performance requires the decentralization of these operations to the local and regional level. It is difficult to see how we can avoid following the path already surveyed by Mr. Nelson in giving increasing weight to the proposals of local management and labor for the expediting of production. The war will not be won from Washington, but it can certainly be lost there. Production is a local job which must have for its goal the maximization of output. Transfer, training, and upgrading of labor require 100 per cent understanding and coöperation at the local level. I have confidence that we will get this job done, but I am certain that we will not begin to do it right until we understand that the waging of modern war by a democracy is and must be a coöperative undertaking. The paradox of our situation arises from the fact that we cannot escape from our paternalistic tendencies or

move toward successful decentralization of operations until those with central authority will assume the responsibility and make the moves necessary to give the initiative for maximum production back to the communities who can do the job. When that time comes we shall be on the road to successful man-power mobilization.

UNEMPLOYMENT DUE TO WARTIME CHANGES

By R. J. THOMAS

THE SUBJECT of wartime unemployment is far from an academic one to workers in general and to automobile workers in particular. Despite the need for total war production, some one hundred and fifty thousand auto workers have no jobs. The recent order of the War Production Board which cut off the supply of steel for the manufacture of some four hundred civilian items will create new unemployment for hundreds of thousands of workers.

It is of the utmost importance that we face this as a current problem. At the same time we should study the situation with a view to deciding how we might best meet a similar, aggravated situation which will arise at the conclusion of the war. When the hostilities have ceased, there will be the tremendous problem of reconversion to civilian production, the adaptation of special war-time plants and industry. Reconversion will be many times the problem of conversion.

The answer to the problem of postwar reconversion has tremendous implications for the safety of our nation. We might destroy Hitlerism and the Axis military machine, only to be faced—possibly after a short postwar boom—by a depression which would give demagogues an opportunity to destroy democracy at home. That was the experience of Germany under the Weimar Republic. We must strive to learn the lessons of the immediate past and to apply them in such a way that we will win the war *and* the peace.

Labor does not believe that the postwar period need be a period of depression, of fifteen to twenty million unemployed, of Hoovervilles, breadlines, and bitter discontent. We should set our sights for an America that will give its people a better and a fuller life than ever before. We will easily have the necessary productive capacity.

The ideal of a better America can be of potent value today. It can provide our armed forces and our industrial soldiers something besides the important but negative aim of defeating the Axis; it can provide the incentive of building a nation where every human being shall have a human place, where unemployment can give way to full employment and a higher standard of living than we have ever enjoyed. To accomplish that goal, we need to think boldly and with audacity. We must have the courage to chart new paths and to refuse to say that "this is the way we must do it, because this is the way it has always been done."

The auto workers remember keenly, and with some resentment, the attitude which was taken early in 1942 by some social workers and public administrators in the field of unemployment compensation when we urged that Congress appropriate the sum of \$300,000,000 to tide the displaced auto workers over a period of unemployment and to train them, in the meantime, for effective participation in wartime industry. Our nation has poured billions of dollars into the war effort, fully conscious of the tremendous fiscal problems that were being created. We have subsidized new plants, and spent money—and are spending money—with only one aim in view, the defeat of the Axis. There is nothing orthodox in the way Congress has appropriated these funds. An emergency requires short cuts along new roads.

But when it came to caring for the emergency created among hundreds of thousands of workers, displaced from their jobs through no fault of their own, we heard cries of "unsound economics," of "raiding the public treasury." Before House and Senate committees we heard arguments colored by the hatred and blindness which accompanied the early attempts to set up unemployment compensation and other social security systems. Gov-

ernors of almost every state—Michigan and New York were among the few exceptions—and even some unemployment compensation administrators declared that the only reason the auto workers were unemployed was that they were incompetent, lazy, and shiftless. Others held that the auto workers, whose average wage was between \$35 and \$50 a week, had been well enough paid to tide them over many months of unemployment. It was contended that the fixed unemployment compensation benefits were adequate.

It was to be expected that politicians and employer spokesmen would say such things. The great disappointment was that men and women who make a profession of administering social security agencies would echo these sentiments, as they did in some cases, or let them go unchallenged, as they did in most cases. The crime of such an attitude was equally great against labor and against social security. They thus found themselves in the same company with the political foes of social security and with the spokesmen of the manufacturers' associations.

In March, 1942, the United Automobile Workers, C.I.O., made a survey of the effects of so-called priorities unemployment among the 500,000 auto workers. The results conclusively supported our contention before Congressional committees that existing benefits must be supplemented by the Government if auto workers were to come through the months of conversion unemployment without damage to their health and morale, and the consequent evil effects on the war effort.

Of those unemployed auto workers who answered our questionnaire, 78.6 percent reported that they could not possibly get by on unemployment benefits without serious changes in their living conditions. Only 19.1 percent said that they could manage on existing benefits. Of these, almost 32 percent were unmarried men and women with no dependents. Some 20 percent were members of a family in which someone else was working while they were laid off. On the other hand, among the auto workers who had to cut down on necessities during the lay-off period, almost 82 percent were married and had families to support.

Twenty-seven percent of those who said existing benefits were

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not adequate to support themselves satisfactorily had to cut down on, or do without, food. Thirty-six percent were forced to withhold payments on rent or on articles they were buying on installments. Twenty-one percent of these unemployed workers faced eviction or were being forced to move into inferior homes, and 5 percent were cutting down on household goods and on utilities, such as coal and gas. Seventeen percent reported that they were going into debt in order to get along. All clothing purchases were given up by 13 percent; automobiles were sold or given up by 12 percent; and another 5 percent were sacrificing all forms of recreation for themselves and their families. A large number did not name the specific ways in which they had to cut down expenses, but stated emphatically that in general their living standards were being drastically reduced.

The difficulty of living on unemployment benefits was pointed out by one Detroit auto worker who said that he and his family of five "cannot live on benefit payments when you have to buy coal, rent at \$32 a month, gas and light." A Plymouth worker reported he had to take a "cut in groceries, insurance, and fuel." A man from a Lansing shop said, "I will have to find work or go on the welfare within the next nine or ten weeks." One family had to "take out the phone, cut down on food, let payments on necessary articles lag behind." A Detroit worker had to "cash in my defense bond, cut my expenses on food, etc."

While labor thus suffered privation through the indifference of politicians and their servants, the loss to the defense program was considerable. We did not propose an outright grant, when we asked Congress to appropriate \$300,000,000 as supplemental benefits for the priorities unemployed. We distinctly proposed, with the backing of President Roosevelt, that the receipt of supplemental compensation for the jobless should be conditioned on their enrollment in defense training classes. The failure to adopt this program meant a consequent loss in trained men for aircraft and other defense plants.

The loss in morale was serious. You will recall that it was the auto workers who, back in 1940, urged some coördinated conversion. Industry held back, preferring the profits of peacetime sales

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and, incidentally, putting scarce materials, which we now need for war, into civilian goods. The delay in conversion, the failure to integrate civilian production curtailment with the starting up of defense operations, were certainly not of the auto workers' doing. They had foreseen the problem, and had urged an integrated program. They did not get that program; yet they had to bear the brunt of the consequent dislocations.

The immediate postwar period will present two alternatives: A brief boom, to take care of the pent-up demand for consumer goods, followed by a sharp depression, will be one alternative. The other will be the creation of a greater America than we have yet known; greater in returns to the working men and women who are fighting the war and seeing our nation through its greatest crisis.

There is no doubt that we will have the resources, once the war is won, to assure every American a job and to assure every American family, not only the necessities of life, but the extra things which make up a good living. We will have such productive capacity as neither we nor any other nation has ever known. The war is forcing a tremendous expansion in manufacturing capacity. The *Survey of Current Business*, for February, 1942, states that the expansion of industry is "little short of staggering in its implications."

Before the war the complete manufacturing machinery, tools, and equipment of the country was valued at about twelve billion dollars. But from June, 1940, when the defense program got under way, to February 28, 1942, government commitments for plant expansion have amounted to over nine billion dollars, while private commitments have totaled nearly two billion. These are the figures supplied in *Victory*, official organ of the Office of Emergency Administration, in its issue of April 2, 1942. In other words, our nation now has a plant expansion program almost doubling the value of the manufacturing facilities of our country before the war. And we must remember, also, that the new, modern plant, equipped with the latest machine tools and machinery, is far more efficient and productive than the facilities that were already in existence.

Although to a lesser extent, expansion is taking place also in electric power capacity, in rail equipment, and in commercial building for military purposes. The total expansion for all capital goods including war plant and equipment, was nearly twenty-one billion dollars in 1941 compared with less than four billions in the depression year 1933. And when armament spending reaches its peak it is estimated that these expenditures will rise to at least forty billion dollars a year, or more than three times the amount spent for capital goods in the boom year 1929.

We can see from these statistics that America can be mobilized to do a tremendous job of stepping up industry and productive capacity. We will clearly have the means to build an America where unemployment and poverty will be unknown. The question before us is: Can we do as well for social reconstruction as we are doing to mobilize for war? Labor insists that it can be done, that the present war for democracy must result, not only in the routing of the Axis, but in positive triumphs of democracy that will mean something tangible to the folks at home.

To accomplish the building of an America fit for heroes, we need specific steps:

1. *A thirty-hour week.*—There is no escaping the thirty-hour-work week as one of the essential prerequisites of full employment after the war. The millions of workers engaged in wartime production, the return of millions of soldiers, increased plant capacities, and increased productivity of our machinery will require a drastic reduction in the work week so that all may have an opportunity for employment.

2. *Creation of adequate purchasing power.*—The campaign for purchase of war bonds is a vital part of a savings program to meet the postwar years, as well as a means of helping to finance the war. The labor movement is diligently seeking to encourage its members to invest at least 10 percent of their salaries in war bonds.

Adequate postwar purchasing resources cannot be created if we freeze industrial wages today. Labor is behind our great President in the war effort, behind him unselfishly, and behind him to the end. However, we can see neither the justice nor the

economic sense of wage freezing, either as a current necessity or with a view to the postwar period. Living costs have arisen at least 13 percent since the war started. Wage increases of a year ago have been nullified by these increases. We have no assurance yet that the price controls proposed by the President will be effective. What we need today is not so much wage increases as an upward readjustment of real wages to last year's level which will make it possible for labor to maintain its standards of health and industrial efficiency, and, at the same time, to invest in the war effort through purchase of war bonds.

3. *Vacation pay in war bonds.*—To create a postwar reserve of purchasing power which can be used to stimulate postwar civilian production, labor is proposing in many cases that vacation bonuses be paid in war bonds. In the United Automobile Workers, C.I.O., the 200,000 General Motors workers and the 130,000 Ford Motor Company workers whom we represent have offered to forego cash for vacation allowances in exchange for bonds. This offer is a vital and unselfish contribution to the solution of our postwar problems.

4. *War bonds for soldiers.*—Labor has always in mind the future security and welfare of our fighting men. The overwhelming number of our soldiers and sailors come from the ranks of labor. We know that the returning soldier will present a problem for all America, for the worker and the soldier, as well as for the community at large. Many unions have insisted that their collective agreements provide that returning soldiers shall receive their old jobs back.

I propose a further step. There has been much justified agitation on the issue of soldiers' pay. Organized labor believes that their pay should be raised, but we go beyond that. To insure the returning soldier an equal opportunity to rehabilitate himself in both the social and the industrial life of his community, I propose that every member of our fighting forces receive monthly a war bond worth \$25 upon maturity. In that way we will provide the former soldier with a nest egg for the postwar future. In order to avoid a tremendous release of purchasing power immediately after the war is ended, before there are sufficient consumer

goods available, the soldiers' bonds, as well as the bonds given the workers in lieu of vacation pay, might mature at staggered intervals.

I deem this proposal to be of the utmost importance. I have formally requested the appropriations committee of the House of Representatives to give it their earnest consideration. This is one of the ways in which we can show our soldiers that we are really in debt to them; it is another method for creating a postwar purchasing reserve which will justify full and quick expansion of postwar civilian industry.

5. *Creation of corporate reserves for postwar conversion to peacetime industry.*—Under proper safeguards and with carefully laid down and enforced regulations, corporations should be permitted to lay aside reasonable reserves. Care must be taken that these reserves are not used to continue exorbitant profits; it must be stipulated that these reserves must be used in starting up peacetime industry, and for no other purpose.

These are some of labor's suggestions to effect the transition of labor and our nation from war to peacetime production. There are other necessary elements which should be obvious. We need now to plan great public undertakings which will provide work for those whom industry cannot at once place. We need to change our unemployment compensation laws so that benefits for those awaiting employment may be adequate.

A program such as I have indicated requires an effective labor movement for its achievement. Labor will again have to play a policing role to see to it that wartime promises to our military force and to the civilian population are kept. The labor movement must be strengthened now, and maintained after the war. To do that we must strive now to create a condition of union security; to give labor organizations the fullest possible measure of recognition so that they may withstand any attacks, and so that they may be of service to our entire nation in making real and effective the democracy for which our men are today giving their lives.

These are some of the proposals labor is thinking about. Some of them are derived from recent experiences with unemployment;

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others are simple, common sense which many of us have long realized to be necessary steps. Labor offers this program as a contribution toward morale in fighting this war, and as a promise, in the postwar future, of an America which will have been worth fighting, and dying, for.

TWO YEARS OF WORK BY THE TOLAN COMMITTEE

By JOHN J. SPARKMAN

ONLY VERY RECENTLY has Congress regarded migration as a problem needing investigation by a Congressional committee. My colleague John H. Tolán, who represents Oakland and Berkeley, California, first introduced the resolution to create this committee in 1939, one month before *The Grapes of Wrath* was published. After the movie appeared in 1940 his resolution passed the House unanimously.

Our committee of five to investigate the interstate migration of destitute citizens held its first hearings in New York City on July 29, 1940. Mayor La Guardia, our first witness, testified that 30 percent of New York's relief load for nonsettled persons came from the Negro group and 20 percent from the Puerto Ricans, both recently migrated to the city. Here we learned how settlement laws affect moving people and even many residents who through certain peculiarities of the law have lost their settlement rights.

In our second hearing, at Montgomery, Alabama, in August, Professor Rupert Bayless Vance well said, "the South is the seed-bed of the nation," by this dramatic statement emphasizing the effects of the high rate of increase in the Southeast. Migration of both white and black from the Southern states has been heavy since the First World War. The Southeast educates many thousands of youngsters whom it loses to the rest of the country. The heavy population pressure on our resources is bound to lower our standards of living unless increasing industrialization and in-

creasing community facilities can be provided to give us diversification of employment and an enlargement of available services. The Committee also heard witnesses from Florida and Louisiana describe agriculture in those states.

At our next hearing, in Chicago, witnesses discussed the new three-year settlement law of Illinois, migratory agricultural work in Ohio and Michigan, and the reverse problem of out-migration from the cut-over regions of the lake states. We heard testimony as to the large-scale migration of Negroes to Chicago, most spectacular during and immediately following the First World War, but continuing right up to the time of our hearings.

At Lincoln, Nebraska, and Oklahoma City, we heard of the sufferings of the Great Plains states from nine years of almost uninterrupted drought conditions, and heavy out-migration. The northern tier of states, including North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas, had lost population, particularly to the Pacific Northwest. From Oklahoma and Texas this stream of migrants had flowed primarily to California and Arizona.

Let me recapitulate the problems of migration which the Committee had discovered. Except for the Transient Program, operating between 1933 and 1935, the public had regarded the migrant as a hobo or a homeless man. Toward the end of the Transient Program, attention began to focus upon the migratory family group. After publication of *The Grapes of Wrath* the public recognized a mass migration, but thought migrants were characteristically "Okies" or "Arkies" or "Texies" moving from areas of worn-out soil in search of new opportunities in the West.

Urban migration appeared to rise directly from large-scale unemployment. Many migrants had been successful jobholders over long periods of time. One witness, for example, had earned as much as seven thousand dollars a year as a tea salesman. We began to see the average migrant as a fairly typical American whose misfortune had been a little heavier than his neighbor's. For many, a temporary helping hand would enable them to go on alone. As recovery lagged, new migratory movements appeared of people forced to follow agricultural day labor as a way of life, or reduced to life in a trailer and employment at odd jobs as they moved

from city to city in search of more permanent work. This tended to become a vicious circle. Federal and state security legislation did not extend to those who could not establish a legal residence. A class of stateless people was beginning to arise.

In our investigation of the Pacific coast states, at hearings in San Francisco and Los Angeles, we found them no longer "the land of opportunity for all." The land was increasingly closely held and operated in large-scale agriculture, on the factory farm. Easterners are astonished to see a crop picked in the shortest possible space of time with the largest possible supply of labor. No community can provide sufficient continuous employment to keep more than a small number of workers going. Large-scale and long-distance migration results throughout the growing seasons. California, surprisingly, produces approximately 10 percent of all the cotton grown in the United States. From the level fields of tractor-grown and cultivated cotton lands in the San Joaquin Valley, excellent soil and large-scale mechanized agriculture produce a heavy yield per acre with a peak labor force for only a very limited season. To pick this crop most migrants from the Southwestern Great Plains reached California by way of a similar cotton-growing area in Arizona. These people, of Anglo-Saxon stock stretching back to the foundations of our colonies, cotton farmers themselves back home, had failed in competition with these high-yield operations.

By October, after seven field hearings in widely scattered parts of the country and hundreds of witnesses including about a hundred actual migratory workers or people who had lost their settlement rights, the testimony of the little people was perhaps the most significant which we had gathered. There was the migrant agricultural worker in Arizona who was asked whether his camp in the field had the latest sanitary facilities, and he replied, "No, the earliest." There was the witness from Ohio who, in describing living conditions in his three-room cabin in the onion fields, told the Committee: "I have got a very small little house with three little rooms. It ain't hardly fit to live in. They have windows. They put in windows but they have been boarded up. They were boarded up when I moved in there."

In late September, the staff began preparing a final report on agricultural and industrial migration. A large amount of published material was available in addition to our field hearing materials. Moreover, expert witnesses at these hearings were asked to submit extended written papers. The Committee expected to finish its work early in January and make a final report to Congress.

As the defense program accelerated a new problem emerged, that of the interstate migration of workers drawn to defense industries. At the end of November we opened hearings in which we received reports from the defense agencies now taking their place side by side with the old-line peacetime agencies, presented by representatives of the National Defense Advisory Commission's Labor Division and the Office of the Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities, and also from Chester Davis, representative of the Agricultural Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission, who was especially interested in questions of decentralization of contracts so that rural areas might participate. After this testimony we added to our report a section on national defense migration, and because of the new emerging problems Congress postponed the deadline on our final report to March, 1941.

In March, Congress passed a resolution designating us as the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. Thus, after nearly a year of work on the subject of destitute migration, we turned to the new and pressing problems of the present day. Our previous work was summarized in a lengthy report in which our recommendations were divided into three parts: (1) measures to forestall as far as possible unnecessary or potential migration; (2) measures to alleviate conditions of migrants now on the road; and (3) measures to assist these people to secure a new start or at least to stop their wandering.

Our proposed bill would regulate the activities of interstate labor contractors. We have vigorously supported the camp program and the rural rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration, and also the extension of all reclamation programs.

We urged that migrants be given an opportunity to share in the benefits of the Bankhead-Jones Tenant Purchase Program. For the nonagricultural migrants we demanded alteration of Federal social security legislation to provide uniform settlement requirements for the whole country.

The work of the Committee has become much more intensive. We have held hearings in San Diego, Hartford, Trenton, Baltimore, Detroit, Hastings, and Omaha, Nebraska; St. Louis, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Huntsville, Alabama; in addition to a large number of Washington hearings.

At San Diego, Hartford, Trenton, Baltimore, and Washington, between the middle of June and the middle of July, the Committee gave consideration to the question of community facilities, embodying our findings in our First Interim Report under the new resolution. This report, appearing in October, 1941, was devoted to the subjects of the industrial labor market, the farm labor market, community facility shortages in defense centers, contract distribution, and post-defense problems.

We urged that Congress carefully consider establishing a Federal Employment and Farm Placement Service to meet the needs of the defense program. This was subsequently done by Presidential Executive order. We urged a stricter observance of the President's Executive Order No. 8802 with regard to discrimination. We asked Congress to increase appropriations for housing and other community facilities and recommended reorganization of the Office of Defense Housing Coördination. Added funds have been appropriated but not as rapidly as they have been needed. By Presidential Executive order a National Housing Agency has been established under John B. Blandford, Jr., formerly of the Budget Bureau. We also recommended decentralization of war contracts to minimize migration and utilize existing facilities. Even yet these recommendations have not been sufficiently heeded. They led us, however, to further investigation of war production and its effect on the use of labor supply.

At Chicago in August, 1940, we had heard testimony on migration to the auto centers of Michigan. During the summer of 1941 we learned that civilian passenger car production was to be cur-

tailed, which would cause large-scale unemployment of workers, many of whom were migrants from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee. This was the forerunner of similar orders for all durable consumer goods whose materials, machines, and men were increasingly needed for defense production.

From the automobile industry we turned to a study of priorities unemployment and the conversion of peacetime industry to war purposes. In Washington we heard Donald Nelson, then Executive Director of the Supply, Priorities, and Allocation Board, together with four leading production engineers, who discussed technical problems of conversion and accomplishments of the defense program in making such shifts.

We also heard Eric Biddle, of the American Public Welfare Association, describe the mobilization, distribution, and conservation of British man power during the war. Professor J. Douglas Brown, of Princeton, told of the workings of the Labor Priorities Branch of the Labor Division, and Arthur Burns, of the Work Projects Administration, analyzed the current labor market.

In November we held three hearings at Hastings and Omaha, Nebraska; and St. Louis, Missouri, on the effect of priorities unemployment upon smaller businesses and smaller communities. The Hastings hearing analyzes the impact on a small city in the Great Plains states of shortages of material and out-migration of workers. We divided our Omaha hearing between the defense program in agriculture, especially in Iowa and the Northern Great Plains states, and the consequences for Omaha of locating there the Martin Bomber Plant and other developing defense industries.

We believed, by this time, that concentration of contracts in limited areas was undermining the structure of the smaller American community, thus threatening heavy centralization of population in limited areas during the postwar period and precluding a recovery of the smaller communities and peacetime industries outside these metropolitan centers. At St. Louis the Committee heard panels of businessmen and municipal officials from Newton, Iowa, and Decatur and Belleville, Illinois. We were also impressed by the testimony of Lou Holland, president of the

Mid-Central Associated Defense Industries of Kansas City, who described his formation of a defense pool, enabling some thirty companies in that city to transfer their activities to war orders unattainable to the individual companies.

The attack upon Pearl Harbor altered all attitudes toward the urgent need for progress in the production program. Throughout the autumn we had been preparing a report on full utilization of America's industrial capacity and labor supply in the war effort. This presented our findings in Detroit, Washington, Hastings, Omaha, and St. Louis hearings. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor we had altered it to keep pace with the times and issued it December 19, 1941.

On December 22 and 23 at our hearings on the possibilities of speedy conversion of automotive plants to war production, we heard representatives from the Michigan state government, the automobile manufacturers, and the United Automobile Workers, C.I.O., Judge Patterson, the Under-Secretary of War, William H. Harrison, Director of the Division of Production, and William S. Knudsen, Director-General of the Office of Production Management.

In the Committee's Second Interim Report, we indicated our belief that the country's greatest need has been an understanding of the meaning of total war and the organization of our economy for it. To us, "total war" means so completely redirecting our energies that we may outdo our three totalitarian enemies, organized for many years to throw into the balance all resources, human and material, of their own and conquered countries. They have but one object—the destruction of the democracies. Our problem is to reorganize democratically to beat these Axis enemies at their own game. Our committee believes we will need, either in the armed forces or in war production, every available pair of hands. We recommend a single civilian board charged with full responsibility for procurement and war production planning, including production of essential civilian needs. We describe proposals to decentralize as far as possible by enlisting every available community and its resident industries in the war effort.

We point to continuing unemployment and failure to use a sizable part of our metal-working capacity.

In January, 1942, the Committee considered questions of housing, health, and welfare in the District of Columbia and related questions having to do with the nation as a whole. Two panels testified, one of state welfare directors, including Fred Hoehler, Leo M. Lyons, Loula Dunn, and Benjamin Glassberg, and one of public health experts including Dr. Reginald R. Atwater, Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Katharine Lenroot, Alma C. Haupt, Dr. George H. Ramsey, Dr. James G. Townsend, and Dr. Huntington Williams. The Hon. Malcolm MacDonald described the work of the British Ministry of Health during wartime. Mayor La Guardia, Dean Landis, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Paul V. McNutt testified on civilian defense as it relates to community facilities and welfare.

In early February our Washington hearings considered mobilization of man power with special reference to the operations of the selective service, the Employment Service, and the Interdepartmental Committee advising these agencies on man-power problems. One panel represented the Farm Placement Service and a second panel, the Department of Agriculture. In mid-February a request from the War and Navy Departments and the Department of Justice that we investigate evacuation of enemy aliens and Japanese citizens from military zones in the Army's Western Command led to hearings held in San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Los Angeles. In March we published our preliminary report to Congress and later completed a final report.

In the midst of this investigation we issued our Third Interim Report on the need for a single procurement agency to effect all-out war production and achieve full use of labor supply. We said: "Poorly planned production in the war effort has been the primary cause of the unplanned and unnecessary migration up to the present time."

Let me say here that the destitute migration of the thirties is disappearing, although remnants are found in certain parts of the country. Instead, we have a heavy migration in search of defense jobs. A labor surplus is gradually turning into a labor scarcity. Lack of adequate planning ahead of production creates far more

undirected migration than is necessary. This will continue as workers are shifted around the country by employers who do not recognize that they and their communities are paying a heavy price for this lack of coöperation. The Federal Government has relied upon the good will of individual employers to assist it. With the creation of the War Manpower Commission under Governor McNutt this lack of planning must cease. We will shortly issue a report on man-power mobilization surveying our previous hearings and the situation since the new Executive order.

In discussing the changes that we propose in the War Production Board, we say:

This revision in the procurement procedures will centralize them in one agency, and simultaneously decentralize the actual operations on a regional and industrial basis. It is our studied opinion that by this means alone can we retain our present strength of community life in many smaller cities and towns, preserve the great majority of our smaller businesses and industries, and make the best use of our labor supply during our all-out war effort.

Some recommendations in this report have been carried out piecemeal—for example, the use of the negotiated contract—but full use of man power and productive facilities waits upon the comprehensive reorganization which we have advocated.

At hearings in Huntsville, Alabama, we observed present consequences for the Southeastern states of greatly expanded war orders. This section, more successful than most other portions of the country lying outside the Northern and lake states region in bidding for war contracts, has secured many Government plants and military camps. The surplus population of the Southeast continues, however, to flow out to other parts of the country. Legislators must look with considerable anxiety toward the postwar era when war orders are withdrawn and American industry reverts to its prewar framework in which limited areas have been particularly favored.

In this connection the Committee is preparing a report on the need for uniform settlement rights. Legislation should be undertaken now to lay the foundations for our postwar situation. The

Committee has repeatedly taken its stand on this, but we continue to need the leadership of folk in the social work field.

I have greatly appreciated the privilege of serving these last two years on the Tolan Committee. Our mandate from Congress runs until January 3, 1943. I am not in a position to say what our future work will be in the balance of 1942 except that we have remaining at least three further interim reports on topics I have indicated, dealing with mobilization of man power, full use of our agricultural labor supply, and the necessity for legislation establishing uniformity of settlement requirements now to prepare for the situation that will confront us on the arrival of peace. These forthcoming reports and our previous work would surely have been impossible but for the remarkable response we have received from those engaged in social work. Their understanding has illuminated the investigations of the Committee and their sympathy has enabled us to reach a wider public which so badly needs instruction on these matters.

MASS RELOCATION OF ALIENS

I. By ROBERT K. LAMB

WHEN the Tolan Committee, shortly before the middle of February, 1942, was urged by the various Federal agencies involved to investigate the pending evacuation of West coast enemy aliens and Japanese citizens, we asked what they thought our mandate had to do with the problem. They replied that if the serious situation developing there wasn't national defense migration they didn't know what was. The Tolan Committee can say, after a month on the West coast holding hearings and after issuing a preliminary and a final report on the subject, that it was no understatement to call this problem serious.

The voluntary migration of individual families in whose study we are customarily engaged may have, over long periods of time, a more profound effect upon our economy and our society and is certainly a reflection of very deep-seated changes in our national way of life. Official intervention to evacuate hundreds of thousands of people in short periods of time on the grounds of military necessity seems, however, to raise hundreds of complications, cutting across social and economic lines, and pressing for speedy solutions.

This problem did not arise in this country during the last war. The Department of Justice assumed the responsibility for determining those persons whom it deemed dangerous or of doubtful loyalty and through apprehension or surveillance kept the situation under control despite a considerable loss of property by sabotage. The general public and many public officials appear to believe that the emergence of the fifth column as a technique

of modern warfare is so effective a device for sabotage and disruption that new measures are necessary to deal with it.

About six weeks after Pearl Harbor there arose on the Pacific coast a wave of press and radio discussion of the menace represented by the Japanese residents. Most of the speakers and writers advocated early evacuation of the Japanese aliens. Shortly thereafter they demanded that Japanese citizens be moved also. As the discussion grew, German and Italian aliens were added to the list. All three of these groups had been declared enemy aliens by Presidential order on December 8, 1941, and the various intelligence services had been active in apprehending members of these groups suspected of activities inimical to this country's safety. A system of enemy alien hearing boards was established under the Department of Justice, with leading local citizens, usually lawyers, passing on the cases of the apprehended aliens and recommending the internment of the majority of those who came before them. This procedure did not satisfy the groups demanding drastic action against all enemy aliens. They contended that our shores were not safe from the possible sabotage which members of the three enemy groups still at liberty might perform at any moment.

On January 29, 1942, Attorney General Biddle announced the creation of certain limited military areas in the three West coast states from which all enemy aliens were to be evacuated by February 24. At this time he appointed a coördinator of enemy alien problems to supervise the evacuations. Three days later Congressional delegations from the three west coast states met in the office of Senator Hiram Johnson and two committees were appointed, one headed by Senator Rufus Holman, of Oregon, and the other by Senator Mon C. Wallgren, of Washington. On February 13 these members submitted recommendations to the President, unanimously adopted by the three delegations, calling for the utilization of the military authority of the Army to effect evacuation. This was to remove the embarrassment to the Department of Justice of being unable to advocate the removal of citizens connected with these groups, and especially of the Japanese. On February 19, President Roosevelt issued an Execu-

tive order authorizing the Secretary of War to prescribe military areas, not only on the West coast, but throughout the country and to confer upon such military commanders as he might designate the power to prescribe military areas and to determine the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave such restricted areas. The Secretary of War was authorized to provide for the residents excluded from such areas, transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations necessary to accomplish the purposes of the order.

In short, to accomplish the evacuation from these military zones of persons of Japanese origin who are citizens of the United States the President has issued an Executive order which creates for the first time a limited martial law permitting the general in command to deal, not only with suspected individuals against whom no specific charges have been lodged, but also with whole groups of citizens. This authority holds in areas which have not yet been under direct attack and in which all the other aspects of civilian life are unimpaired.

The Executive order drafted to deal with evacuation of Japanese citizens extends far beyond the question to which it was directed. Throughout the public discussion of this evacuation it has been asserted that the Japanese, whether citizen or alien, constitute an inscrutable group whose intentions of loyalty toward this country are undetermined. If this is so, then it is most unfortunate for the rights of all American citizens that we should not have prevented Japanese children from becoming citizens in the first place by Constitutional amendment. If there is any group numbering 125,000 persons within the borders of this country whom we are unable socially and politically (I do not say racially) to assimilate, we should certainly never have allowed them the rights of American citizenship, because of the threat which mistreatment of these doubtful citizens might represent to the civil liberties of the entire country. Calling in question the reliability of these Japanese and removing them for the duration of the war to limited areas is bound to have repercussions for the post-war period. During the war, however, the Executive order itself stands as a temptation to arbitrary action and as a threat to civil

liberties throughout the entire country, not merely in the Western Defense Command or with respect to this limited group.

In order to understand this viewpoint, let us consider a possible evacuation of the Germans and Italians. Along the entire West coast there is a population of approximately eighty-five thousand persons who are German or Italian aliens, that is to say, nonnaturalized persons classified as nationals of Germany or Italy but including refugees, many of whom are expatriates or "men without a country." These persons are, to a considerable extent, members of families in which all other members are American citizens. A large but undetermined number of these persons are illiterate and for this reason have been unable to secure their second papers for citizenship. The immediate future of these persons is still to be determined by order of the Commanding General of the Western Command, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt. They are at present under curfew restrictions and are required to be at home by eight at night and not to leave before six in the morning, and to move about within restricted areas, and to get special permission to travel over any longer distances. A limited number of categories of exceptions have been set up. These were originally expected to comprise approximately 90 percent of the entire group. A sample check for the whole country of the records in the hands of Earl Harrison, of the Alien Registration, has shown, however, that this does not cover more than 35 percent of the Italian and German aliens.

It is important to realize that the total number of people in this category of enemy aliens throughout the entire United States is approximately a million, composed of over three hundred thousand Germans and nearly seven hundred thousand Italians. It is noteworthy that the total number of foreign-born Germans and foreign-born Italians is almost exactly the same, but the number of naturalized Italians is far smaller, indicating that the non-naturalized Italians have failed to secure their papers largely because of illiteracy or because of the position of women in the Italian family.

Nowhere in the general discussion of the proposed treatment of Italian and German aliens is it alleged that the great majority

of this million people are in any way dangerous to the safety of the United States in war. On the contrary, most of the witnesses before the Tolan Committee are in agreement that the great bulk of the Italians on the West coast are completely harmless, simple people, who have lived most of their adult lives in this country and have raised large families who are actively participating in the war effort, either in defense jobs or in the armed forces. It is generally the belief of qualified persons that most of the really dangerous elements among people of foreign origin are to be found either in the naturalized group or among the second generation who are citizens of this country. It is also their view that the most dangerous among the enemy aliens have probably already been apprehended in the extensive raids made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the aid of the Army and Navy intelligence services.

General Drum has indicated that there will be no wholesale evacuation in his command area. This same position was originally taken by General DeWitt in January when the question arose of transferring control of the evacuation from the Department of Justice to the War Department. By various stages, this position was reversed, until today we are expecting that over half of the German and Italian aliens on the West coast may be evacuated, thus setting a precedent for military areas throughout the whole country.

It is difficult to estimate the full consequences of a wholesale evacuation along the Atlantic seaboard in an area having a population of 52,000,000. These states have considerably more than half of the country's 1,000,000 enemy aliens, so that in this area alone we may be faced with the evacuation of 350,000 people. At the present time it is not contemplated that they will be moved to limited areas such as those being set aside for the Japanese. This will in itself create new problems of employment which will involve Federal officials in all the existing complications of job discrimination, already a serious matter for the manpower mobilization program, not only among these enemy aliens, but for naturalized citizens and even second-generation persons of German and Italian and other origins.

Naturally, if I believed that the intelligence services, especially the FBI, thought that such mass evacuations were indispensable I would hesitate to take this position. It is my considered view that the problem is not so much one of military necessity as of public opinion. I believe that no general in command of an area would be willing to accept the responsibility for what might happen in the event of an attack and successful invasion if there had previously been in his command area a widespread demand for the removal of certain groups. It would inevitably be his view that any untoward incident arising from the presence of those groups would reflect upon him. The entire problem, as I see it, is one of assumption of responsibility by the qualified authorities. I believe that by the Executive order, the Administration, and especially the Department of Justice, has shifted the responsibility where it does not belong.

If these proposed *évacués* are too dangerous to be allowed to remain in their present residence, how can we expect the public elsewhere to welcome them? After the Japanese were adjudged to be a menacing group on the West coast the military authorities encouraged them to evacuate voluntarily. Subsequently, it was necessary for General DeWitt to stop this voluntary evacuation and require all who moved to do so under the supervision of the Army. This change in orders was made necessary by the way these voluntary *évacués* were received in the mountain states and the Southwest. One community after another refused to allow them to settle down because they considered them to be too dangerous. Aside from the difference in physical appearance between the Japanese, on the one hand, and the Germans and Italians, on the other, what is to guarantee that the communities to which these Italian and German *évacués* move voluntarily will not consider them equally as dangerous as the Japanese?

Our population of Italian and German origin to the third and fourth generation numbers well over fifteen million. The 1,000,000 who happen to be nonnaturalized are like the part of a boulder which is above the ground. Below the surface and not immediately visible are fourteen individuals for every one with whom we are immediately concerned. The effect on the morale

of these two large groups cannot fail to be damaging in the extreme. They are related, for the most part, by ties of blood and neighborliness to the proposed *évacués*. An injury to the limited group will be an injury to all.

To imply that these aliens are untrustworthy as a group because we are unable to make the effort necessary to single out the probably small number who are positively dangerous is to call in question the reliability of all their relatives and close friends. It seems to me that the proposal to move these people in a mass evacuation comes much closer to fifth-column disruption than does the possible damage which a limited number of them will commit if the movement is not made. I believe that the effective way to deal with threats of sabotage is by the use of the intelligence services with whatever assistance they can depend on from the local police. The Tolan Committee has advocated hearing boards. In my opinion such boards can be a useful supplement, both to the work of the existing enemy alien hearing boards and the intelligence services on the one hand, and toward overcoming the tendencies on the part of employers and others to discriminate against persons of enemy alien origin.

Hearing boards could allay most public concern regarding these people as a group. The boards would make it possible to single out those individuals who seem to require further investigation. These boards would not be charged with investigating them in any final manner nor would the decision of these boards guarantee that the individual was henceforth to be free from such investigation. Instead, the proposed board would turn over to the existing enemy alien hearing boards any cases which they deemed doubtful or dangerous. The machinery of the existing boards would then go into motion. The proposed boards would require the person in question to answer an extended set of questions; the board would then take the pulse of the neighborhood with respect to the individual, and rely upon the findings of the local police or the FBI and the military and naval intelligence services, as a basis for certification that to the best knowledge and belief of the local board this person should be returned to normal civilian life at his existing residence.

There will, of course, be certain restricted areas around military installations from which populations should be moved. It is my opinion that, usually, all resident populations should move from these areas. It would then be possible for the military to issue permits to those persons who should be allowed to enter the restricted areas on business. This would certainly give a measure of protection not to be afforded by singling out arbitrary categories who might conceivably be dangerous.

The personnel for these hearing boards should include at least one lawyer of excellent reputation in the community and probably two nonlawyers well known for their civic participation. As many boards should be created as would be necessary to reduce the case load to a thousand. A series of temporary exceptions should be made, such as for refugees; persons over fifty or sixty years of age who had entered the United States prior to 1924; persons having fathers, sons, or brothers in the armed forces; and certain infirm persons who could be considered temporarily not dangerous, such as the totally deaf, dumb, or blind and those persons in institutions such as hospitals, sanitariums, or jails. This would greatly reduce the immediate case load of the individual board and make it possible to conduct an examination of the remainder in fairly short order.

Whether this hearing board organization is established under the Department of Justice or is created as a separate organization by Executive order, I am convinced that the individual cases considered doubtful or dangerous should be cleared with the existing apparatus of enemy alien hearing boards set up by the Department of Justice and that some form of machinery for such transfers must be worked out. I do not believe that the jurisdiction over this new set of boards should be military, since the object of the hearings is to return these people to normal civilian life as rapidly as possible.

I have placed emphasis on the President's Executive order and on the proposal for hearing boards because I believe that the general question of what is going to happen to the Italians and Germans offers much more opportunity for successful action on our part than any fundamental alteration in the plans now going

forward for dealing with the Japanese, whether citizen or alien. I am also prepared to argue that the hearing board technique cannot be used to examine the individual Japanese until it is worked out for differentiating among the members of the Italian and German alien groups.

There will be constant pressure, as resettlement of the Japanese goes forward, to allow the use of Japanese workers, in what will amount to forced labor, in the "food for victory" program. In my opinion the President's intentions will best be served by permitting the Japanese to make their contribution to the war program by production within their own communities. Certainly any use of their labor in private employment outside those communities will require extreme caution in view of the inflamed temper of certain groups against all Japanese.

I have cited two or three points on which the Tolan Committee's views and mine completely coincide, but it should be explicitly understood that these statements are my own responsibility, and that I have not expressed them as an official representative of that committee.

II. By JANE M. HOEY

WHEN MILITARY AUTHORITIES decided, in the interest of the public safety, to remove enemy aliens and their dependents from coastal areas and vital points, the Attorney General asked the Federal Security Administrator to help in facilitating such removal and stated that he felt the care of such persons was a Federal responsibility. On February 6, 1942 (amended March 23, 1942) the President out of his emergency fund allocated \$500,000 to the Federal Security Agency in order to facilitate: (1) the removal of enemy aliens and other persons whose presence may be deemed dangerous to the United States from any area designated by appropriate governmental agencies; and (2) the relocation of, and temporary aid to, such persons or their

dependents who have been affected by restrictive action related to exclusion from military zones or prohibited areas, detention, and internment.

The Federal Security Administrator authorized the Social Security Board to provide assistance and service to such persons and their dependents and the Board assigned appropriate responsibility to the Bureaus of Public Assistance and Employment Security.

The plan at first involved the removal from prohibited areas of enemy aliens only and their destination was to be a voluntary choice. For this reason it was assumed that the United States Employment Service would be useful in indicating job opportunities to employable persons. This has happened in the case of the Germans and Italians and a limited number of Japanese. However, when it was decided that American citizens of Japanese ancestry as well as aliens must be removed, the authority to order such removal was transferred to the Army as the only government agency with the right to order the removal of citizens. This required the amendment of March 23, 1942, in the President's allocation authorization making possible aid to dependents of enemy aliens who might be citizens, to those subject to restrictive action of the Army, War Relocation Authority, Attorney General, or other governmental agency, and to the families of those detained or interned who are in need.

For a time after mass removal of the Japanese was decided upon, the Army permitted a choice of destination, but on March 29, 1942, further voluntary evacuation was prohibited and enforced evacuation from military zones, larger than the original prohibited areas, was ordered as of given dates of all Japanese, citizens and aliens, to selected reception centers in the military zones. These centers were operated under the auspices of the Army by personnel borrowed from the Work Projects Administration, the Office of Indian Affairs, and other agencies.

The Army set up in the ninth corps area the Wartime Civilian Control Authority. This agency was the channel through which the Army's decisions concerning the evacuation areas and dates and the destinations of *évacués* were communicated to the vari-

ous Federal agencies involved. Through the 1940 Census information, the number of Japanese to be removed was determined and WCCA offices were established in centers of density of population. The offices were usually located in the United States Employment Service, but since placement service was no longer required for this group the staff assisted in the management of the offices. Representatives of the Provost Marshal, the Bureau of Public Assistance, the Federal Reserve bank acting for the Alien Property Custodian, the United States Public Health Service, the Farm Security Administration, and the United States Employment Service were available in each service and control center to help in their respective areas.

More than one hundred and twenty-five thousand Japanese are being moved. A large proportion of these are American citizens. It is recognized by all the agencies involved that the method of treatment of these people must be carefully considered from several standpoints. Can this experience be the basis for teaching American ideals of democracy, or will fifth columnists be bred there? What will happen to Americans interned in Japan as a result of our treatment of the Japanese? The Japanese are hard workers and seem to enjoy work. If no work or no suitable continuing work is found for these people at the reception centers or the relocation centers to which they are now being moved, will new habits of idleness be established? Many Japanese who were farming lands outside the military zones and were contributing to the war effort through their produce, voluntarily gave up their farms and went to the reception and relocation centers because of the antagonistic community attitude toward them.

It is estimated that 2 percent of these Japanese, citizens and aliens, are in the professional class; 17 percent are domestic servants; 18 percent are engaged in wholesale and retail trade; 40 to 50 percent are in agriculture; and 6 percent in manufacturing. There are people with plenty of resources and others, relatively few in number, who were receiving public assistance. There are few if any skilled mechanics, no one in transportation, and no sanitary engineers. The Germans and Italians, on the other hand, are in almost every type of occupation. The attitude of the Japa-

nese is good. They have told our workers that they realize why the removal action was taken and are willing to undertake whatever work they are assigned to do.

The staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Regional Office of the Social Security Board in San Francisco acted as area supervisors, recruiting from the state and local public welfare agencies the interviewing and supervisory staff to man the various WCCA offices. These workers acted as agents of the Federal Government, and helped to interpret evacuation orders, gave assistance and service during both the voluntary and the enforced evacuations, and assisted the Army in making decisions about exception to the usual routines where this was necessary. Sick people had to be sent to hospitals, children in orphanages had to be re-established with parents in the centers, or held in the institutions until a children's center could be established at Mansanar. The most difficult problems from a social point of view were those relating to enemy aliens in citizen families. For example, an Italian father who did not become a citizen, only because he could not pass the literacy test, had to give up his work as a fisherman and move out of the family home while his family remained because they could not afford to move. An enemy alien mother had to move with her young children from her farm home and the husband had to stay to farm the land, so the home was disrupted. A woman whose son was killed at Pearl Harbor was forced to move, and another with one son in the Army and one in the Navy could not quite understand why she had to go into a strange community.

The question of preserving the civil rights of the *évacués* is important. Will persons living at the centers have a right to vote if they are citizens? What can they do about lawsuits already in progress? Will they be given furloughs to continue these actions? Can they receive unemployment compensation because they are unemployed, or are they unavailable for work and therefore ineligible? Will public assistance grants be continued if they are already being received or will new applications be received by the public welfare agencies? Will any pay be received for work at the centers, or will subsistence needs only be met by the Gov-

ernment? These are all important questions not yet settled but receiving serious consideration.

Relocation centers under the War Relocation Authority, an independent agency directly responsible to the President, are to be established at Mansanar, California; the Parker Indian Reservation in Arizona, to be managed by the Office of Indian Affairs; the Pima Reservation at Gila, Arizona; Tule Lake, California; and Gooding, Idaho. A reception center at the Santa Anita Race track near Los Angeles will house 17,500 temporarily.

What will happen after the war to American citizens who have been living in these centers? Does not demobilization present serious problems, especially if the war is of long duration? Is any community going to be willing to accept large numbers of Japanese? The manner of living in the centers, one room per family, central dining rooms, limited bathing facilities, and the like may create many problems. There are antagonistic attitudes already evident between those born and educated in the United States and those born here who went to Japan for their education. There is also some conflict between the older members of the family, born in Japan, who wish to hold the family closely together, and the American-born younger members who would like to break away. All these problems challenge those in charge.

While the mass removal of the Japanese overshadows all other problems of enemy aliens at the present time, there are many families who are suffering hardships because of the internment or detention of one or more of their members. Frequently, both parents of young children have been taken by the Department of Justice; the Bureau of Public Assistance has been given responsibility for the care of these dependents.

In the interest of efficiency and economy the state and local public welfare agencies have been asked to render service to such families and the Federal Government will meet the cost 100 percent. In the case of German nationals, German funds will be made available through the Swiss Legation to meet the cost of assistance and service to those members of the family of a detained or interned person who are German nationals. Other members of the same families who are American citizens will have the cost

of their assistance met from United States funds. Checks for the German nationals will be mailed from the Swiss consulates. United States funds will be sent through the Bureau of Public Assistance to the state public welfare agencies in the same way as other public assistance funds, but on a 100 percent rather than a matching basis. While the Swiss Legation acts as the protectorate for Italian interests in this country, Italy has not allocated any funds for the care of its nationals, nor has Japan. United States funds will be used to meet the needs of these groups until funds are made available by their countries. Separate financial accounts will be kept by the welfare agencies. Since such agencies are acting on behalf of the Federal Government they will not be limited in their service because of restrictions in state laws.

The mass relocation and resettlement of aliens has been a serious problem in this country, but through the fine coöperative work of a number of Federal agencies, and state and local public and private agencies I believe we can minimize hardship and perhaps help to make loyal Americans appreciative of democratic ideals.

MOBILIZING FOR HEALTH SECURITY

By I. S. FALK

THE FIGHTING STRENGTH of our nation is limited only by the health and vigor of the people. Health is vital, not only to the men who must meet the enemy, but also to the men and women who must win the battle of production.

Health services are inseparable parts of a program to provide security for the nation as a whole. An adequate national health program must be broad in scope. Within practical limits, it should provide for all the services which modern skill can furnish to assure healthful living. It should apply to all who need protection against the losses resulting from sickness, disability, and death. It should emphasize prevention—the prevention of illness, of disability, of economic insecurity, and of dependency. And when illness and disability persist, the program should assure at least a basic minimum income to support those who cannot maintain themselves or their dependents.

The foundation for a comprehensive five-point health program was designed by an interdepartmental committee of the Federal Government in 1937-38. Though there was opposition from a few special-interest groups, there was strong support for the program. No major deficiency in its content was discovered during preliminary consideration at the National Health Conference in 1938; nor was any demonstrated during the hearings held in 1939 before a subcommittee of the United States Senate which studied Senator Wagner's bill embodying this program.

Since that program was first submitted for discussion, national security has become gravely endangered from without. Our eco-

nomic patterns are now being strained in unprecedented ways by the forces of war. Health problems have developed new dimensions. Perspectives, too, have changed. But the health needs which the 1938 program was designed to meet remain substantially unchanged. This is evident if we take stock of the fields of action proposed by the interdepartmental committee:

1. *Expansion of public health, maternal, and child health services.*—The normal development of public health services was accelerated before the outbreak of the war, under the leadership of the United States Public Health Service. But lack of funds, personnel, and local leadership, and preoccupation with special demands of the war, have greatly reduced this development. The attack upon venereal disease in the general population was progressing when effort had to be largely deflected to the special problems of potential recruits to the armed forces, and of extra-cantonment, maneuver, and war-industry areas. Three other special programs have been greatly accelerated by war pressures—nutrition, housing, and industrial hygiene. But each of these touches only narrow sectors of the basic and continuing public health needs which were envisaged in the recommendations of 1938.

Under the leadership of the United States Children's Bureau, the development of maternal and child health services has continued and improvements have been made. These services have also been aided by Social Security grants to the states. Maternal mortality rates have declined sharply and infant mortality has continued to decrease. But emphasis has recently shifted to the acute needs of war-industry communities, the special problems of migratory populations, and to special war needs, such as the preparation of evacuation plans and the education of parents in the care of children in a war environment. Such gains as have been made for the general population certainly cannot be regarded as having made available to mothers and children of all income groups and in all parts of the United States at least the minimal medical services essential for the reduction of needlessly high mortality rates and for the prevention in childhood of conditions leading to serious disabilities in later years.

2. *Expansion of hospital facilities.*—In the 1938 program, deficiencies in hospitals and clinics were to be met over a ten-year period by an expansion of our facilities. The committee stressed the need for at least three hundred and sixty thousand additional beds in general, tuberculosis, and mental-disease hospitals, and for the construction of 500 health centers in areas inaccessible to hospitals. It also recommended Federal financial assistance during the first three years of their operation.

Since 1937 the number of hospitals registered by the American Medical Association has increased by 230 and the number of beds by nearly two hundred thousand. However, most of the added facilities are in governmental institutions, and many are either not available to the population as a whole or are not designed for general care. Hospital construction through the Federal work programs has been terminated. New hospital construction for the armed forces is not designed for, or available to, general civilian use. Hospital projects in war-industry areas already approved under the Lanham (Community Facilities) Act will have a capacity of only about thirty-five hundred beds, and their location and types may limit their significance in meeting more general needs beyond wartime.

As for health and diagnostic centers and clinic and out-patient facilities, one may hazard the guess that the deficiencies underscored in 1938 are substantially unchanged.

3. *Medical care for needy persons.*—Deficiencies in medical services for the recipients of public assistance or general relief and for other medically needy groups may be somewhat less than they were in 1938. Nevertheless, despite the efforts of public welfare authorities and the coöperation of other agencies, the situation is still dominated by limited funds and by confused, overlapping, and inadequate administrative provisions. There have been great reductions in unemployment and some increases in earnings; but these economic gains are somewhat offset by difficulties met by groups who have migrated into war-industry areas where medical facilities are inadequate. Increases in costs of living are already reducing the augmented purchasing power of many workers.

4. *Medical care for the general population.*—There has been

no substantial progress in provisions to assure medical care for the general population through expansion of public medical services or the development of health insurance. Federal aid to these ends has become available only for the venereal disease program and for the provision of community facilities especially required in defense areas. Except in a few states and in some cities, the expansion of public medical services has been slight and much of what has been done represents an extension of hospital or limited clinic services intended primarily for the needy. No state has adopted a program for medical care on an insurance basis or any comprehensive program of public medical services.

In the field of voluntary insurance, there has been more stir than accomplishment. Professional groups have won special privileges from state legislatures; but achievements in terms of membership and scope are, from a national point of view, trivial. A partial exception is the growth of nonprofit hospitalization insurance plans, recently reported as having almost nine million subscribers. However, this development is limited almost wholly to groups economically well above those who most need protection and is usually restricted to hospitalization benefits. It does not seriously challenge the conclusion of 1938 that "Voluntary sickness insurance without subsidy . . . may be important as a method of experimentation . . . but it has nowhere shown the possibility of reaching more than a small fraction of those who need its protection."

5. *Disability insurance.*—The 1938 recommendations urged social insurance to prevent privation and dependency by providing partial reimbursement of wages and assurance of some income in periods of disability. On April 29, 1942, Rhode Island enacted a law for cash sickness-benefit insurance, and thus pioneered in this type of social legislation.

This brief comparison of the present situation with the national health program considered in 1938 and 1939 indicates that neither the program as a whole nor any substantial part of it has been adopted or implemented. Social and individual needs still persist, and many of them have been aggravated by the war. The objectives of a long-range program which might be developed today

would not be substantially different from those previously recommended.

Are we any nearer action toward a comprehensive national health program than we were in 1939? In what respects have circumstances changed our outlook upon health plans?

The President in his budget message of January 5, 1942, urged the expansion of the social security program to increase insurance coverage and to provide protection against hazards not initially included in the Social Security Act. He specifically recommended the addition of disability and hospitalization benefits to the old age and survivors insurance system.

Paul V. McNutt, the Federal Security Administrator, who is also Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services, has urged the public health agencies to overcome their traditional reluctance to assume responsibility for health and medical services needed by individuals as distinguished from community groups. He has vigorously denounced "business as usual" in the field of health; and has condemned inertia and solicitude for special interests, when the health of the people is at stake.

The Social Security Board has forthrightly advocated health security as a next step in social legislation. In the Sixth Annual Report to Congress, the Board expressed its opinion that insurance against wage loss during periods of disability is both necessary and practical. It also endorsed measures to assure adequate medical care to all persons, and to protect workers and their families against the costs of medical care, as of basic importance to social and national security. The Board reported its belief that there should be Federal participation in direct expenditures made by state public assistance agencies for medical services and supplies which may be furnished persons whose requirements are considered in determining the need for, and the amount of, the assistance.

A national health plan today would have to take account of other changes which have occurred since 1939. Shortages in professional personnel have developed. The extensive recruitment of health officers, administrative personnel, physicians, dentists, nurses, and technicians for the armed forces will increase as the

war proceeds. Obviously, shortage of personnel suggests that renewed attention be given to the development of group practice and that other arrangements be made to ensure the most effective use of available resources. Plans which will carry on into the post-war period can count on professional personnel to be released by military demobilization.

Shortages in construction materials and skilled labor have appeared. This necessarily postpones until after the war all but the most urgent hospital construction. The need to conserve supplies and labor now gives added importance to blueprinting a reserve of public works for potential use against the widespread unemployment which may occur when industry is being reconverted from war to peace.

No specific plan to implement the President's recommendation for hospitalization payments through the national social insurance system has been announced by the Government. The Social Security Board has said that it has not adopted any specific plan and intends to submit none to Congress. It recognized that the social insurance system could undertake to furnish basic protection against hospital costs through either a cash or a service benefit arrangement. The Board is aware that there are advantages and disadvantages to each type of plan. Though inclined to favor a cash benefit plan, it invited discussion with interested groups and expected that Congress would decide upon a specific arrangement after its committees had heard all the important points of view. It is regrettable that criticism in various professional circles has been directed toward distorted accounts of the proposals.

Formerly, recommendations concerning temporary disability benefits contemplated Federal grants-in-aid to assist the states in developing operating plans. It is therefore of interest to note that the President's 1942 recommendation departed from that pattern; he recommended that these social insurance benefits be furnished through the national social insurance system. Apparently the success of the Federal old age and survivors insurance system is inclining the nation toward the development of a social insurance system which will be wide in its coverage, uniform in its application, and broad in its protection.

Government, industrial management, and labor are emphasizing the special health problems of industry during the war period. The importance of maintaining the health of workers and of reducing working time lost because of accident or illness can scarcely be overestimated. Moreover, industrial health and medical needs will probably take on increasing importance with the further expansion of the labor force for war production. However, we should keep in perspective—certainly for long-range health planning—the relative roles of industrial and general health services. Nonindustrial disability of workers is about fifteen times as large as industrial disability. When nonindustrial workers and their dependents are taken into account, the general population with medical needs is more than three times the number who may be reached by a comprehensive program of industrial hygiene and medicine. Thus, even for the war effort, it would be a serious error to concentrate on the health of the worker while he is in the factory and to disregard his health during the remainder of the day or to neglect the health needs of his family.

Closely related to the interest in industrial hygiene and medicine is a new concern for the development of rehabilitation services. The high rejection rate of selectees and the emerging stringencies in the labor force press attention upon the need to expand physical rehabilitation services in order to make men fit for the armed forces or for productive work.

In planning for national health, there can be no disagreement on two principles: Health services which are essential to the war effort must be supplied; and nothing should be undertaken which interferes with the war effort. But beyond these broad principles, many choices remain among courses of action. Some give great and others give little weight to the role of the social services in strengthening the home front. Opinions differ as to the need to plan and act now to win the peace.

There are those who believe that the public services should be reduced, or at least held to a minimum, and that expansion should be deferred for the duration. Many who hold these views believe, however, that planning for a better postwar world should go forward. Then there are those who believe that the exigencies

of war have vastly intensified the need to strengthen the public social services. Many who are of this opinion have in mind not only specific wartime needs, but also the development of provisions against ever present needs as a sure bulwark of military as well as civilian morale.

As between the two extremes, the latter view seems better founded. An argument for fiscal economy at the expense of public social services is peculiarly weak just now. We are spending the nation's accumulated wealth and mortgaging the future to meet the costs of national defense. This fact does not justify the waste of a dollar on any unjustifiable expenditure, but it is not wise economy to spend billions for the munitions of war only to risk finding that we are even a little deficient in the will or the vigor to use our weapons because we have not expended millions for health and morale. In wartime especially, we cannot afford to be penny wise and pound foolish.

An argument against "hasty" action is not even as impressive as the "economy" argument. Programs for health security have been under continuous scrutiny for more than ten years, and legislative proposals have been in the active study stage for five. How much longer must we study before action will be free of the criticism of "haste"?

We know that despite the air raids, the strains on food supply, and the multitude of critical tasks, Britain did not weaken her social services. On the contrary, social services were strengthened, enlarged, and advanced. Britain also set up official commissions to pursue the tasks of postwar planning with a vigor which we could profitably emulate.

To be sure, we do not face crises as trying as those which confronted Great Britain in her darkest hours. But we cannot afford to be complacent; we cannot afford to defer either planning or action until a crisis is upon us. Under the strains of war, it is more than usually important that the Government court no failures in public action; but it is even more important that the Government be not found lacking in foresight and preparation.

The furthering of national health should be undertaken so far as possible within the framework of long-range and enduring so-

cial security plans and with regard for the strengthening of the social services generally. Only in this way will we build soundly; only in this way can we weld an administrative organization capable of meeting unexpected needs. A sound program now demands at least these six steps:

1. Legislative and administrative action to meet immediate and specific needs of the industrial war effort: industrial hygiene and medical services; sanitary provisions and general medical services in war-industry areas where available provisions are inadequate; training, recruitment, and provision of professional personnel as needed; organization of essential services and financial provisions against the contingencies of civilian distress resulting from threatened or actual enemy action; health and medical services for migratory and transient groups whose needs result from economic adjustments to the war.

2. Legislative and administrative action to strengthen existing health programs and to build needed facilities, where expansion, improvement, or construction threatens no interference with the war effort: increased Federal aid to the state programs for public health and for maternal and child health services; grants-in-aid to the states for the medical care of public assistance recipients; construction of essential hospital, clinic, and other facilities.

3. Legislative and administrative action to establish temporary and permanent disability insurance and hospitalization payments recently recommended to Congress by the President.

4. Submission to the public and the legislative bodies of broader programs for general health and medical services, construction of needed facilities, and the like.

5. Enactment of a broad and long-range program as rapidly as possible, with a schedule of effective dates set in relation to war efforts.

6. The vigorous use of planning bodies responsible both for concurrent and long-range studies to advise both the administrative and legislative branches of the Government.

This is the minimum adequate program. With less than this we may fail to exert the most effective war effort and we may

court unnecessary dangers in anticipating and meeting the problems of the peace.

In this total war no responsible person would minimize the importance of health on the home front as well as on the military front. But the urgent needs of war do not stand alone. In a people's war, war aims and peace ideals are inseparable. The winning of the war comes first, or there will be no peace to be won. But no peace will be won through plans sprung full grown like Minerva from the head of Zeus. The peace among and within nations represents but one aspect of the task which is ahead; the saner operation of our domestic life represents the other. To win the peace, we must face its problems in advance.

There are many versions of how this war came upon a sickened world, but none that I have seen fails to include man's quest for security. As surely as health services are to be numbered with food, housing, clothing, and education, as surely as protection against disability is vital to all who live by work, so surely is health security an essential goal of the war. To neglect to mobilize for health and security is to imperil our future.

HEALTH NEEDS OF WAR-PRODUCTION AREAS

By *DEAN A. CLARK*

AWAY BACK IN THE DAYS when we were engaged in "defense work," plans were begun to meet the health needs of defense areas. Aside from more general provisions, such as housing, recreation, and social protection from venereal disease, the first move toward this end was the appropriation by Congress, effective on March 1, 1941, of \$525,000 for emergency health and sanitation in these areas. Under this appropriation, later increased by about \$3,000,000, the Public Health Service has provided short training courses for more than seven hundred physicians, dentists, nurses, and sanitary engineers whom it employed and later assigned to the states for the purpose of developing and carrying on public health programs in extra-cantonment and defense industrial zones. This was an excellent beginning, and no less than 216 critical defense areas have been assisted with Federally paid personnel.

In June, 1941, came the Community Facilities Act, by which the Federal Works Agency received \$150,000,000, since increased by an additional \$200,000,000, for the construction of housing and recreational, school, and health facilities in the defense areas. To the Public Health Service fell the task of passing upon projects for health facilities submitted under this act, and its approval has been given for 206 hospitals (including additions as well as wholly new buildings), ninety-six health centers, twenty-five miscellaneous health projects, and 495 water-supply and sewage-disposal projects, with a total proposed cost of about \$200,000,000.

In addition to these two types of direct Federal aid, limited assistance has been rendered continuously through repeated surveys of general health and sanitary needs in these areas—nearly four hundred communities have been surveyed—and through special studies by the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the working conditions in government-owned or operated war factories.

All this is creditable and has undoubtedly been an important factor in maintaining a good health record, at least in so far as keeping down the incidence of communicable disease (except, perhaps, of tuberculosis), and the number of deaths (except, perhaps, from industrial accidents). But what about the situation since we have graduated into war? Orders and production have been stepped up, small factories are being doubled and tripled in size, others are working night shifts and week ends. Since that memorable December Sunday in 1941, a number of solutions have been proposed to meet the health problems thus raised, such as the disability and hospitalization insurance program mentioned in the President's budget message. However, no definitive answers to this complex situation have as yet been given.

It might be natural to suppose, now that the hectic war construction days are partly over, that health needs in camp and industrial areas are being met fairly well, since little has been heard to the contrary. There have been no epidemics of any size, no statistically visible rise in death rates, no apparent adverse effect on production. But the picture is not so rosy as one might infer.

Of the 797 health facilities projects approved by the Public Health Service, 615 have received final approval. Construction has been started on thirty-six, and it is expected that contracts will soon be let on others. The needs of the armed forces have made it difficult to obtain priorities, but plans for the use of non-strategic materials are being developed. Although significant assistance has been rendered to county health units by the emergency health and sanitation program through "lend-lease" personnel, larger staffs are urgently needed. That the need for adequate health services in industrial areas is increasing is indicated by recent reports which show that rates of nonoccupational illness and accidents among industrial workers have risen 10 percent

above the previous five-year average and are now at levels never equaled in the past ten years.

The conditions that existed for a while at Charlestown, Indiana; Waynesville, Missouri; Childersburg, Alabama; and Stark, Florida, were well known. But did you know that conditions almost as bad exist eight miles from Baltimore? Have you been to the Middle West or the near-by Gulf coast? To Pryor, Oklahoma, or Texarkana?

Close to the Glenn L. Martin bomber plant, eight miles from Baltimore, now live 25,000 people, more than twice as many as were there a few years ago. People live in shacks and trailers and barns, and even in chicken coops, with a polluted well furnishing their water supply and with sewage running in the gutters. In all this area there are six doctors and three dentists and not a single hospital—for 25,000 persons. But Baltimore has doctors and hospitals. Can't they serve these people? Think for a moment what it means for a sick person to travel eight miles to a clinic or to pay the mileage charges of a doctor from the city. Moreover, Baltimore hospitals and clinics are already full to overflowing, and wage earners from outside the state, like many at the bomber plant, find it almost impossible to gain hospital admission for anything but catastrophic illness. It may be hoped that conditions will be improved when the hospital which the county has applied for under the Community Facilities Act is built.

Conditions are even more primitive in a Middle Western industrial community, where the population has grown from 14,000 to 38,000 in little more than a year and may soon be more than fifty thousand. Here sewage is carried off in open ditches. In a mushroomed area of this sort, community organization is naturally poorly developed, and the physicians are so busy dealing with individual patients that they have had no opportunity to visualize the community's health problem as a whole. As a result, little organized pressure for improving conditions has as yet arisen.

One coastal city is the site of great shipbuilding activity. The city has increased in two years from 7,000 inhabitants to 12,000 or more, and the surrounding county, increased in population from 17,000 to nearly 30,000, will probably reach 40,000 before long.

There are five dentists and seven physicians in the county (all located in the city), and three of the latter are over sixty-five.

The county's one hospital—of forty beds—is registered as a nonprofit institution, but it is, nevertheless, closed to all except two of the physicians. The number of beds is wholly inadequate. If patients of physicians who are not on the hospital staff need hospitalization they must either be transferred to one of the two overworked staff physicians, be cared for at home, or be transported twenty-five miles to another city. The local hospital is well adapted for expansion. At least five new doctors could well be used in the community, if they were given hospital privileges.

Pryor, Oklahoma, is famous now because of a recent disastrous tornado, but Pryor had serious health hazards even before that storm. The site of another war-industry plant, it has now about 8,000 persons, as compared with 2,500 in 1940. In the whole county are 35,000 inhabitants (22,000 in 1940). Medical care resources consist of eight physicians (five of them over sixty), four dentists, and forty hospital beds about evenly divided between two proprietary institutions. Only three of the county's physicians have access to these hospitals. One can easily imagine the desperate plight of people in this area who need medical care. Small wonder that most of the tornado victims had to be moved to Muskogee and Tulsa, both about forty miles away.

Yet Pryor has not seen fit to apply for a hospital under the Community Facilities Act. Why not? First, perhaps, because of the lack of interest in community affairs all too frequently found in boom communities of this sort, where the pervading desire is to make a stake while the boom lasts, and to get out ahead of the crash. There is as yet but little sense of community responsibility among the newly arrived population, many of whom are living in scattered shacks and trailers. Then, too, Pryor and the county did not feel that they could afford any substantial contribution toward either the construction or the maintenance of a hospital and so hesitated to ask for Federal funds. Communities economically able to pay part or all of the cost have been able to meet the increased demand for hospital facilities, although their

relative need may have been much less than that of Pryor or near-by Choteau.

The Texarkana area suffers from much the same situation: crowding, lack of sanitation, meager and inadequately used hospital facilities. The worst problem is sanitation, for the workers in the war industry here live scattered along eleven miles of country road where most drinking water is hauled in by the barrel, and sanitary facilities are hopelessly primitive: a practically perfect setting for a typhoid fever epidemic. So far the county health officer has been unable to arrange for immunization on a mass scale.

Are these examples typical of war-industry areas everywhere? Are they all so bad as this? Of course not; but there are many worse ones, too. On the whole, the picture is not unfair.

Briefly, then, the situation is serious and threatens to impede our essential war production, if it has not already done so. Even more disturbing is the fact that responsibility and authority for dealing with the situation are widely diffused among a variety of local, state, and Federal agencies, no one of which can view the situation as a whole. Housing, sanitary, and hospital facilities are widely inadequate, and the Community Facilities Act has not yet solved these problems. Local communities often have had neither the breadth of vision nor the financial resources to secure the projects they need. There is a shortage of physicians, dentists, and nurses in virtually all areas. Many have entered the armed forces; new ones have been reluctant to move in because of the insecurity of boom towns, the inadequacy or inaccessibility of hospital facilities, the difficulties of obtaining licenses, and for other reasons. Existing medical facilities are poorly utilized because of the lack of organized means of rendering service or of paying for it.

Little improvement in these alarming conditions can be expected until: (1) active responsibility for planning and providing medical as well as public health services, together with adequate authority and financial support, is concentrated at local, state, and Federal levels in a way which will permit coördinated planning and action; (2) means are found to preserve in, or bring to, war-

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production areas at least a minimal supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health personnel; (3) satisfactory arrangements are made to enable wage earners to secure medical service for themselves and their families at a price they can afford; and, correspondingly, until satisfactory financial support is provided for needed health personnel and facilities; (4) medical resources are organized to deliver care in the most effective and economical manner; that is, through groups of physicians, utilizing facilities and assisting personnel in common, centered about a hospital; and (5) ways are found to speed the construction of health facilities, allocated according to the needs rather than the financial resources of the communities.

Unless we do these things, we may find an increase in the frequency and severity of sickness in war-production areas. All our man power is needed at full capacity. We must agree upon and put into effect the measures necessary to provide maximum safeguards for the health of our workers and thereby avoid the wastage of days and weeks and years of working time and, yes, of lives, too, that is otherwise inevitable.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES FOR AMERICA?

By F. EMERSON ANDREWS

IN PRESENT OPERATION, the plan for allotments to the families of service men will affect relatively few persons; in principle, it is no less than revolutionary. Social work has long been accustomed to cutting the relief cake—or more often, the relief crust—to the number of mouths in the family; but only on the basis of established need. Even this principle, in the early days of work relief, ran head-on into the sacred American policy of equal pay for equal work, and some very curious adjustments had to be made toward the outward preservation of both principles.

Now, however, we have a clear-cut example of money being paid to wives and mothers, not on the basis of need at all, but in stated definite sums, purely by virtue of their being wives and mothers. Call this by what name you will, it is the first widespread example in the United States, aside from the similar but less liberal provisions during the First World War, of what in many other countries have come to be called family allowances.

Those who have been following foreign developments in this field have seen this principle spread amazingly, until before the war substantial groups were covered in no less than twenty-eight foreign countries, with inclusion of practically the whole population in several of them, notably France and Belgium. It is curious that a movement so widespread, and of such social importance, has gone almost unnoticed in the United States. True, as early as 1913 Mary E. Richmond noted the importance of the problem, saying in the *Survey*: "We must give attention to this endowment of motherhood idea—it concerns all social work."

In 1920 Katharine Anthony contributed an introduction to an American reprinting of a British pamphlet on the topic. Paul H. Douglas wrote in 1925 the only book-length American treatment I have been able to uncover: *Wages and the Family*. Mary T. Waggaman, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has reported foreign developments most helpfully in the *Monthly Labor Review*. A few other scattered references exist, but as far as American social work is concerned, most of the rest is silence.

This silence troubled me. After several years of study I sent, early in 1940, a memorandum to Shelby Harrison, my chief in the Russell Sage Foundation:

Although the subject of family allowances is now popularly an unknown territory in America and has been discussed by relatively few sociologists, and seems not even to be whispered about at the National Conference of Social Work, I am going to risk the prediction here and now that since the family has become an uneconomic unit in the last generation, family allowances or some comparable scheme to adjust the balances will come during the 1940s. Since such a change would have effects on general living conditions comparable with the Social Security Act, it seems important that careful research be done.

I stand on that prediction today. The bombs on Pearl Harbor have already blown us into an experiment with family allowances for soldiers' families, and may have made desirable a further emergency experiment.

The research necessary before we can arrive at an intelligent position has not yet been done. However, in wartime the new uneconomic position of the family is an urgent American problem for which a solution must be found. Family allowances present only one of a number of possible solutions.

We might first look at the central problem. I tread familiar and even trampled ground in saying that dependents, particularly if they are numerous, present serious family problems. In one 1937 study of workingmen's families, it was found that of the families with one child, some 6 percent were below the "poverty line"; of those with two children, 11 percent; with three children, 25 percent; while of families with four or more children, 51.3 percent were below this line.

Consider the problem of the uneconomic family on a broader base, including not only its effects on families teetering on the edge of relief, but its effects on families which never enter the doors of social agencies, and on those potential families which, because of this problem, never will exist; in a word, the effects of the new family insolvency upon the quality of America today and tomorrow.

A generation or so ago, the family was not only a social unit, but usually a satisfactory economic one. We were living in a farm economy. It did not cost much to feed and clothe children, and in a very few years they were doing substantial chores on the farm and in the house, and more than made their keep. Rearing children was frequently a profitable business. It seldom is now. This is not because today's John is less strong than yesterday's Jake, or Shirley less willing than Susie; they have less chance. Modern Johns and Shirleys live, usually, in towns or cities where productive chores are fewer; and wherever they live, they go to school longer in each year, and for more years. We are rapidly legislating out of existence an old and undesirable form of family security—child labor. Meanwhile, the costs of rearing and educating a child according to the standards to which all the Joneses are accustomed have risen like a well-constructed skyrocket.

A recent estimate of the money cost of a child in a middle-class American family is \$300 at birth; an average of \$300 a year for twenty years for food, clothing, doctors, and incidentals; and, if college is involved, an additional \$800 a year for four years. Total cash outlay per child, \$9,500; total cash return, usually zero. These figures may be generalized for any social class by considering that each child costs approximately as much as a house for the income group involved. Indeed, houses on Federal Housing Authority mortgages and children have several parallels: there is a substantial down payment, and regular monthly payments for a period of about twenty years.

Careful men and women do not lightly obligate themselves to so large a purchase, even in the case of a house which may save rent, has permanent value, and at worst can be abandoned. Each

child is an obligation of like size. But here the economic parallel ends. A child saves no rent, but frequently adds to rent. He cannot handily be abandoned, whatever the shifts in your circumstances. And at the close of the twenty-year-payment period, he is suddenly not yours at all, but belongs to himself and his country.

Fortunately, few of us who are fathers or mothers are willing to take only the economic view of our families. They mean so much more in love, and fulfillment, and downright fun. But because voluntary choice of poverty for the sake of children is what most young couples now face, the more parents are concerned about the welfare of future children, their proper care and education, the less likely they are to have them.

Result: few or no children in the families which have high standards of child care and education, and would provide healthful, stimulating environments for the future makers of America; large families of children among the careless and improvident. There are exceptions, of course. But by permitting the family to become an uneconomic unit we have put into practical effect a brand-new law of foolish man—the survival of the unfittest.

Is there no way to save ourselves from this process favoring survival of the unfit? Can we, to put it bluntly, make some plan whereby families, of all classes, with high standards of child care and education will be encouraged to have more children, while we go about the task of educating other families toward fewer children and higher standards?

Other countries, where the standard of living is even lower than in the United States (I say "even" purposely, for our standard is deplorably low on any absolute base), have been attacking this problem vigorously. Their experiments have been in various directions. Sweden, for instance, has been instituting a program of subsidies for children in kind—free education, free meals at schools, free dental and health care, and the like. This is an interesting experiment. The cash family allowance, however, is the more usual form of experiment which at least twenty-eight countries had partially or wholly adopted before the war.

Just what is happening now is so obscured by lack of news, and so complicated by emergency measures which change before

we are able to check on them, that I shall make no attempt to describe the 1942 status of this movement. It may be illuminating, however, to picture briefly one such system in operation. Since France has had the longest experience in family allowances, we shall discuss the French system of family allowances as it existed just before the Nazi invasion.

The history of family allowances in France began in 1916, when Romanet, an industrialist, introduced them in a firm at Grenoble. They spread rapidly among industrial firms as a means of meeting the family hardships of workmen in a depression period. Soon problems bobbed up. An individual firm which offered family allowances tended to attract men with large families, but in its employment policies sometimes discriminated against them. This was solved by "equalization funds," into which all employers in one industry contributed a certain amount per employee, regardless of his dependents, and out of which all allowances were paid.

Difficulties of another nature developed. Industries in France which offered family allowances on a liberal basis found it difficult to compete with similar industries in other countries; moreover, labor unions charged that the allowance system, being under the control of the employers, was a heavy weapon in case of strike or lockout. It became evident that nationalization was needed to unravel some of these snarls, and gradually a national system came into being in France, a system of which French labor groups as well as employers heartily approve. Said the French *Confédération Générale du Travail*:

We could not maintain that the allowances have not reacted on the bachelor's wages. But in actual practice an arrangement which aims at equality and solidarity justifies certain sacrifices. Trade Union solidarity has not been impaired by the system. We in France consider that the Family Wage is purely and simply a redistribution on sounder and more humane lines of the wage bill.

In France, before the Nazi invasion, family allowances reached practically universal coverage—not merely wage earners and government employees, but teachers, artists, the self-employed, the farmer. The allowance began with the second child, for whom the mother—not the wage-earning father—received 10 percent of

the average wage in that department of France. For each child beyond the second she received an additional 20 percent of the average wage.

We have not time to examine the many interesting variations family allowances have assumed in different countries. Sometimes the allowance began with the wife, even if childless; usually with the first or, as in France, the second child. Sometimes, where an increase in the birth rate was particularly desired, the rate rose with the number of children; elsewhere, allowances stopped entirely after the fourth child, in an attempt at a brake on very large families. They usually ceased after the child reached sixteen or eighteen, but for the staff of the London School of Economics allowances were continued up to age twenty-two if the son or daughter were in an approved school, and increased in amount at the higher ages when schooling would be more expensive.

In the United States, we have thus far refused to look this problem in the face, but have, in fact, been approaching family allowances from many angles in a disjointed program. Public schools are a subsidy to children for which the bachelor land-owner pays at the same rate as the father of ten. Free milk in schools, free dental service, parks and playgrounds for children, half fare for young children, are further minor subsidies. The Social Security Act was another long step in this direction, which has resulted in an average of about \$100,000,000 a year being paid out recently in the Aid to Dependent Children program.

Possibly the queerest subsidy for children, in its practical operation, is our present income-tax law. If I had a child under eighteen, and paid at the lowest rate of 10 percent, then in effect the Government paid me back last March \$40 for my child (10 percent of \$400). At the same time our beneficent government rebated \$312 to John Hollywood Starr for his one child (78 percent of \$400 on his more than \$500,000 a year income).

In isolated cases, the family allowance system is actually being tried. The Columbia Conserve Company in Indianapolis has for many years been supplementing its basic wage with an allowance for family dependents. Bennington College, subject to availability

of funds, has set up a plan whereby "the salary shall be considered as consisting of two parts: a basic salary and a family allotment." This allotment is \$500 a year for each dependent, up to three.

A recent report in the *National Education Association Journal* lists seven cities in six states as authorizing family allowances for schoolteachers. I asked the superintendent of schools of Garden City, New York, how their plan which provides for payment of \$300 for a dependent wife and \$100 for each of two dependent children, was working out. Mr. Wassung writes:

It is my impression that the entire community, Board of Education, and teaching staff are heartily in favor of this plan. . . . The family allowance is one of the most significant features of a very fine salary schedule and has enabled me as Superintendent to secure the best available teachers.

Incidentally, the family allowance system, particularly in schools and in social work, might offer a solution to the difficult wage-sex problem. There is a widespread suspicion that men are sometimes given better jobs or paid at a better rate on the basis that men usually have "families to support." The allowance system would make possible a more nearly just basic scale, with adjustment for either men or women where dependents really existed.

That something must soon be done about the insolvent American family is clear. Whether that something is family allowances, or another device, is more debatable. In view of the present lack of research into this subject, I am not yet ready to take a stand for or against family allowances as a permanent American policy. However, I believe family allowances, already necessary for soldiers' families, might offer a desirable and workable solution to another emergency problem the war has brought us.

It is clear to everyone that for the duration we shall operate under an economy of scarcity. There will be barely enough workers left producing consumer goods to supply necessities, and none for luxuries. With commodities limited, severe inflation cannot be avoided unless we find an effective way to reduce the

total spendable part of wages to the total value of consumer goods we are still able to produce.

We are already trying the increased income tax, myriad other taxes, and patriotic drives for increased savings in government issues, but these are not enough. Two drastic proposals are being aired: a rigid ceiling to wages; and a pay-roll tax to be deducted from wages by the employer.

Unfortunately, neither of these drastic measures takes into account a central fact only too obvious to social workers. In an economy of scarcity, the simple, fundamental needs vary directly with the size of the family. Make no mistake. One of the gravest concerns of social work today is how this adjustment is being and will be made. John and Joe work side by side in an airplane factory. John is single, Joe has a wife and three children. They receive the same wage, which is just enough for Joe and his family to live comfortably. That leaves single John with considerable excess spending money.

The first effects of this excess spending money we have already seen: hoarding, competitive buying which forces higher prices, black bourses which evade price-control laws. It is naïve to believe price control alone can prevent the inflationary spiral. If serious inflation sets in, it may absorb John's extra cash, but all the Joes and their families drop below the subsistence level. On the other hand, if the Government, in order to swallow up John's dangerous spending margin, imposes a wage tax at source, then single John's income is reduced to manageable size, but many married Joes and their families may be forced below the subsistence level, and need to go on relief.

For the period of scarcity, we must find some means of distributing our limited supply roughly in accordance with need. Drastic rationing might do it, or a very steeply graded income tax with large dependency exemptions. A simpler and a fairer expedient would seem to be to adopt, for the duration, a system of family allowances.

This allowance should amount, for each child, to 10 percent of the average wage in Joe's state. Perhaps Joe is working in Penn-

sylvania and the current average wage is thirty dollars a week. At the same time the pay-roll tax or an enforced saving device to reduce spendable income goes into effect, family allowances begin to be paid. In behalf of each of her three children, therefore, Mrs. Joe receives 10 percent of thirty dollars, or three dollars a week, in return for her labors as homemaker.

The two men still receive the same wage for the same work, but neither has an excess of spending money to bid for the things we can no longer afford to produce. All the families, irrespective of their number of dependents, are adequately cared for. To establish a minimum wage on the liberal basis of the five-person family, by comparison, would not only continue presently dangerous surpluses for the smaller families, but would still leave below subsistence level the 47 percent of all American children who are in larger than three-children families.

This is no argument for reducing wages to bare subsistence levels; personally, I think they should be kept at as high a level as the total economy can support, and that disaster for management as well as labor lies in any other course. But it does suggest that in our present period of scarcity the wage problem can be handled with greatest social benefit by combining with the regular wage system a system of family allowances, "salaries for mothers."

Such a system would have the immense advantage of being operable on short notice, using existing machinery set up under the Social Security Act for administration of old-age and survivors' insurance. At present, this machinery does not provide for agricultural workers, employees of charitable organizations, household workers, the self-employed, and a few minor categories. While from the viewpoint of a fully democratic system of family allowances these groups ought eventually to be included, they are the ones in which the need is less keen at the moment, and for the initial emergency setup it is suggested that the existing coverage could be accepted.

In early January, 1942, the National Resources Planning Board released the so-called Hansen report on a series of proposals for postwar adjustment which have already received Administration

approval. This plan mentions family allowances as one of the definite measures to be taken in postwar America for maintenance of a high level of production and consumption.

It is high time, then, that we looked at family allowances critically and, if we find that we approve in principle, that we form some definite plans for administration. While the broad implications of this proposal make study by authorities in many fields desirable, certain preliminary suggestions, drawn from the experience of other countries with similar systems, may be offered. Some countries, such as Sweden, are making payments in kind, but the majority seem to incline to cash payments. In the United States, with our strong bent toward individualism, cash payments are probably indicated.

Payments should be made to the mother. There is a little more assurance under this arrangement that the chief benefit will go to the children, for whose welfare the payments are intended. There is justice, too, in the mother receiving cash income for her efforts, and such an income will, in many families, improve her status and make for family stability.

Payments should come out of a central fund, either state-wide or Federal, so that there will be no danger of men with families being discriminated against in employment, or that control of the fund be used by employers to the detriment of labor. This fund should be raised out of general taxation.

Payments should be based, not on the wage of the individual family, but on a state or sectional average. This takes into account variations in living costs in different sections of the country. It provides a cushion in times of unemployment. It also ensures that the proportional help received will be greatest where the family wage is lowest, as is desirable.

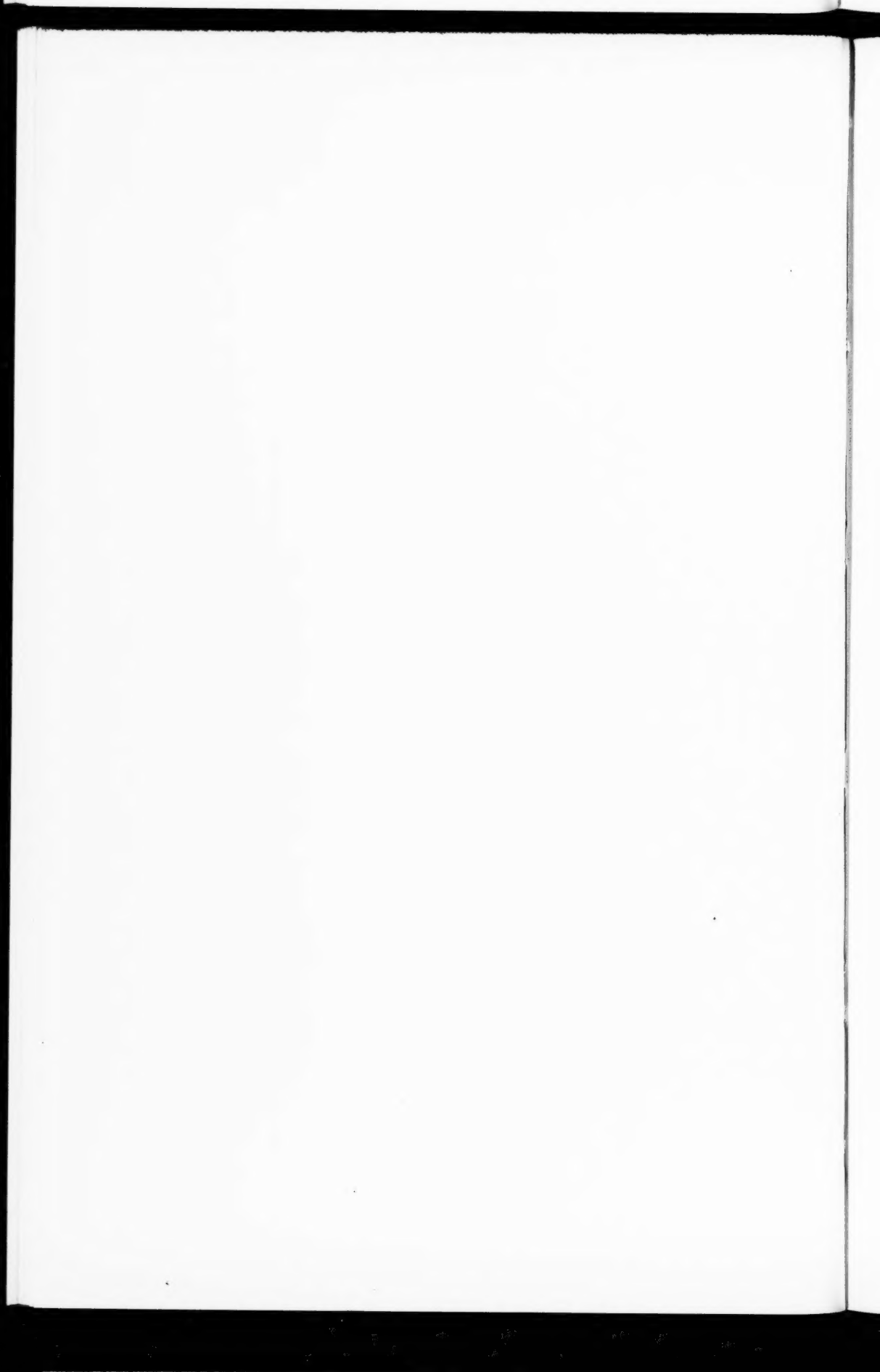
While for administrative reasons coverage may have to begin with the Social Security setup, it should probably be made universal as soon as practicable, so that the program may be fully democratic and may help solve the problem of family dependency in the middle as well as the lower-paid groups.

Careful records of birth-rate changes should be kept, so that the

program may be adjusted to our population policy, or abandoned if it develops unhappy consequences.

Family allowances may be coming sooner than we dream. If they come, social work needs to be in a position to direct this social force, which may prove an addition to social security only less important than that act itself in its influence on living conditions in America.

PART THREE
THE ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICE
OF SOCIAL WORK



COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

I. By LEONARD W. MAYO

LOCAL SOCIAL AND HEALTH AGENCIES the country over now find themselves under unusual pressure. The manner in which they are functioning in the present crisis is a test as to whether they have achieved an integration with other services in the community and with the community as a whole, for the war has thrown into bold relief the inadequacies of community organization. A total war involves total communities, and a community whose social services are weakened through lack of integration and coördination cannot respond with the mobility, drive, and precision essential to modern warfare and modern social work. The question, therefore, as to whether national agencies have contributed to sound community organization is not an academic query.

Evidence of our weakness in community organization could be found in peacetime in countless communities. It could be seen in budgets that reflected an ignorance of real needs, in programs that were unresponsive to community change, in agency relations only a shade removed from armed neutrality, and in the manner in which some national agencies superimposed their programs and counsel upon, and sought to control rather than work through and with, local communities. Under the strains and stresses of war these inadequacies have caused veritable bottlenecks in the crucial task of mobilizing human and material resources.

As a definition of community organization we might take the following: Community organization is a total process by which the professional and lay citizens of a community seek to create a

better balance between needs and resources through improved support, administration, extension, and arrangement of social and health services.

This is fairly clear when applied to a local community and to local agencies, but not wholly clear, perhaps, in so far as the national agency is concerned. We need to remember that no local community is self-sufficient; it needs stimulation, a widening of its concepts, the experience of other communities and of various functional fields. Many local problems have their roots, and hence their controls, wholly or partially outside the community, and there is need, therefore, for broadening both the geographical and the functional base of planning. In all these respects the national agency has something substantial to give. A major difficulty, however, has been that too many national agencies are prone to regard local communities as the vehicles for their special interests rather than as an opportunity to contribute to the development that takes place only when all programs are skillfully blended.

The responsibility of the national agency in community organization is twofold. It should organize its services on the local level in relation to other public and private services; and in relation to other national agencies, public and private, on the national level.

To be effective, community organization must be based on a knowledge of the community as a whole, its needs, the services already existing therein, and the type and quality of services required. In the light of such criteria, it is fair to ask whether the majority of national agencies can be knowledgeable with respect to these matters when so much of their effort is devoted to the development of their own functional responsibilities. The problem, therefore, is not only whether national agencies are effective in community organization, but whether they can now be effective in view of their present philosophy, structure, and programs.

The *Social Work Year Book* for 1941 records 394 voluntary national agencies but adds that of these, only fifty whose services are "more nearly national in scope and more closely knit into the whole structure of social work in the community" fall within the description of "influential," "well-known," and "significant." The majority of these are members of the National Social Work

Council, the National Health Council, the National Education-Recreation Council, or the Social Case Work Council of National Agencies. A survey of the services and support of eleven national agencies conducted by a committee appointed by the National Social Work Council in 1939 suggests that most national agencies fall into four main classifications:

1. Those that are federations of the local units they serve
2. Those that charter the local branches they serve
3. Those that affiliate with individual groups and agencies without close or continuing administrative commitment
4. National movements having individual member constituents for disseminating information and promoting legislation and the like

Most of the voluntary national agencies with responsibilities in health and social work fall within the first three of these four categories. While wide differences are recognized in the make-up, purpose, and function of those included, all bear an important relation to localities. That, in any event, is an important common factor, for our main concern is in this relationship, and the potentialities therein for mobilization of resources. It should be pointed out, furthermore, that certain national agencies maintain what amounts to a community organization function as a primary objective.

The main functions of national agencies may be summarized broadly under five main headings, as suggested by the *Social Work Year Book*.

1. Establishing, interpreting, and promoting standards of service
2. Acting as a "clearinghouse" for the collection, collation, and distribution of information and facts useful to their constituency
3. Aiding in the development of local programs through consultation, surveys and similar methods; and standing by, as David Holbrook has put it,¹ to aid, protect, and promote the interests of local agencies when they are threatened or when their work is lagging

¹David H. Holbrook, "National Associations in Social Work," *The Social Work Year Book, 1941* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1941), pp. 365-70.

4. Assisting in personnel problems, including employment and education of staff and the development of adequate personnel policies and practices

5. Publicizing the need for, and the objectives and methods of, the national agency and its local members or affiliates.

An examination of these functions reveals no mention of community organization as such, though there is no indication that this responsibility is omitted. All the functions would be more effectively discharged if carried on with an eye to proper integration with the local community; or, in other words, if they were performed within the framework of a community organization concept.

The general pattern, however, seems to be in the direction of strengthening and promoting the specific type of program a national agency happens to represent, in developing a portion of the total field of social work, or in emphasis on a specific age group. Obviously, all these emphases are valid. Specific programs, functional areas, the needs of special age groups, all need promotion. The difficulty lies, not so much in the emphasis, as in the exclusive manner in which the emphasis is applied. A class in Western Reserve University's school of social work observed recently that the impact of national agencies on localities resembled a series of parallel lines drawn from national headquarters to the locality with hardly a single vertical line at the national or local level to integrate or relate their services. The figure is, by and large, an accurate one.

The cost of maintaining national voluntary agencies and the sources of their income should have a direct bearing on their functions and their obligations to local communities. The study of eleven national agencies included the annual budgets of the agencies for the year 1938. A recent spot-check showed few substantial changes when these figures were compared with the 1941-42 budget figures. Two of the agencies included had then, and still have, budgets in excess of a million dollars. The budgets of the remaining nine range from \$42,000 to \$646,000 in round numbers. The total for these nine agencies is approximately two million dollars, and for the eleven agencies the aggregate is over

four million. The sources of these funds include dues from individual and member agencies, contributions, income from endowments, and the sale of goods and publications. The percent of each budget derived from agency membership which, of course, comes from local communities, is from 13 percent to 21 percent for those agencies with the largest budgets, and for the remaining nine agencies, from 20 percent to 30 percent.

When it is realized that scores of individual communities receive the services of several national agencies, the sum total of national membership dues paid by towns and cities is no doubt very high in many cases. The National Social Work Council and Community Chests and Councils, Inc., have recently organized a joint committee to study the relations between national social work agencies and local chests and councils. The findings and recommendations of this committee are eagerly awaited.

In the meantime it is obvious that if national agencies are to continue to draw heavily upon the resources of whole communities, they have an obligation to contribute to the whole community, not merely to one aspect of it. While it is not to be expected that every dollar contributed by local communities to national agencies should be returned in the form of direct service to the locality, and while it is obvious that a certain percent must be devoted to overhead, to portions of the country less favored, and for the good of the national movement as a whole, the fact remains that money is contributed by whole communities and should therefore be devoted to the interests of whole communities, within the framework of sound community planning.

There are instances in which certain national agencies with a strong foothold in a community exercise such pressure that they exert undue influence over the budgeting and allocating functions of the local chest. The result might properly be termed community planning by manipulation, for it is based on the strong determination of one group rather than the logic of total community need.

On the national level there is evidence in the activity of the National Social Work Council that there is a desire to relate and integrate the services of the national agencies. There is evidence,

also, in the organization and structure of the United Service Organizations. It is too early to state whether this collaboration is a short-lived coöperative venture or whether a permanent coördination may eventuate that will have a substantial effect on local and national community organization. A great deal depends, of course, upon how the present experience is regarded by those responsible for it.

In spite of a number of encouraging signs, however, there is no real trend in the direction of thoroughgoing, joint analyses of programs and functions, no real conviction, except in the minds of a few, as to the need for synchronizing programs and field staff, and far too few gestures in the direction of possible consolidations.

On the local level we can examine almost any community where four or five national agencies have local branches and ask the following questions as a test of the extent to which national agencies are actually participating in community organization in a given locality:

1. Do national agencies work with and through local chests, councils, and other federated groups and with public agencies?
2. Do they press their local members or affiliates to keep in constant touch with the total over-all picture of community needs and to study their responsibilities in regard thereto?
3. Do they differentiate between those localities which particularly need their services and those which do not?
4. Do the field staff of the executives of national agencies meet to discuss the problems of a given geographical area or locality with local representatives?
5. Do national agencies encourage their constituency to work jointly with other community agencies in meeting urgent needs rather than lobbying for projects to be run under their own auspices?

Evidence may show that national agency A or B has a high score in these tests. While there are exceptions, the general pattern of a national agency work would not at present allow affirmative answers to these queries, in the sober opinion of this observer. The community organization idea, procedure, and machinery are

in our minds, as representatives of national agencies, on our lips, and in our literature, but not as yet in our muscles.

In a number of respects the outlook for the future is more, encouraging, for we are engaged in a struggle that will increasingly try us and test our capacities. We will be required to make sacrifices and to unite around common convictions and objectives. We will learn, though perhaps the hard way, that minor differences, and some that now seem major, are luxuries we can no longer afford. We may learn, furthermore, though we will suffer in the learning, that voluntary agreement upon essentials is a far greater art than that of rigid adherence to all individual differences.

The outlook is made brighter also by the fact that many local communities served by national agencies are now taking far more responsibility in community organization. A recent example is the notable Detroit Conference held in March, 1942, at which representatives of local and national agencies met for full and frank discussions of the problems of community organization as they pertained to one group of agencies in that city. This plan should be emulated, with whatever local modifications are required, and the results tabulated and widely circulated.

There is hope, moreover, in the moves that have already been made by national agencies themselves, expressed through Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and the National Social Work Council and directed toward improvement of relations and coördination on both national and local levels. The rapid changes in the public field and the flexibility of those public agencies with which the voluntary national agencies must constantly deal is another factor that may well hasten an improvement in the quality and extent of community organization on the part of the latter.

While all these factors augur well for the future, in the final analysis the destiny of the national agency is in its own hands, for although member agencies will have influence and may exert leadership, the control rests primarily within the administrative management of the national agency itself. Presently some sage among us may draw a blueprint or a chart of organization and structure for the national agencies of the future. In the meantime

we must seek our own salvation, not through a formula, but through the process of giving persistent and thorough attention to the needs of local communities against the background of pertinent world events. It is not unlikely that through the pursuit of such an objective the future function and structure of each will be made clear. In any event, the following brief suggestions are offered as possibly productive in leading national agencies closer to active participation in community organization on the local level:

1. All local functions of a national agency should be conceived and performed on the basis of sound local community planning.
2. National agencies must work through, and hence strengthen, local resources and planning bodies.
3. They must collaborate with other national agencies working in the same geographical area.
4. The program promulgated by a national agency in any locality must be predicated on the needs of that community and other facilities available, not on the foregone conclusion that every town or city of a given size requires the full program and attention of a particular agency.
5. All national agencies having field representatives in the same region should meet frequently with local leaders to plan for the needs of that region.
6. The local financing of national agencies should be based largely on the role of each national agency as agreed upon in conferences of this nature, not upon pressure from national headquarters.
7. National agencies must engage in earnest analyses of their own and similar programs through the National Social Work Council or other appropriate media. Such examinations must be made with specific ends in view, for example: What will the impact of the war and the postwar period mean to social work locally and nationally? What will be expected of local and national agencies in the postwar period? How shall national agencies prepare for this new service and the community leadership it will require? What is the most effective unit of organization for national agencies—function, age groups, special services? What

should be the role of those national agencies devoted to specialized aspects of the general field of social work?

These and many other questions are pressing for solution. In all the confusion that surrounds us these mandates stand out clearly: (1) National agencies must work out their salvation through the localities they serve; (2) in the midst of the overwhelming social and economic change going on about us, national agencies too must change; and (3) the essential nature of this change must lie in more meaningful participation in community organization on the local level, closer collaboration with other national agencies, and a vision which encompasses, not only the national, but the international scene.

Such changes, if we bring them about, will require a quality of discipline and control as yet unknown to most of us. We will have need to remember that while the glory of a democratic nation may lie in freedom of organization and action, the triumph of a free society is found in a self-imposed discipline that regards the common good as more precious than the pursuit of individual ends, no matter how worthy. In war and in peace national agencies must demonstrate that there is no necessary inconsistency between freedom and efficiency in meeting the needs of human kind.

II. By FRED K. HOEHLER

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION is neither a new concept nor a new problem; but the war has renewed our consciousness of the imperfections in our social organization by creating staggering new community problems and, at the same time, dislocating our normal machinery for dealing with them.

We are only beginning to realize the explosive and revolutionary character of this war in terms of its effect on our economic and social organization. Not only are millions of young men being withdrawn from civilian life into military service, but the

lives of those who remain in civilian status are being increasingly redirected by forces beyond the individual's control to meet the exigencies of military necessity. The factors producing these changes are well known to social workers:

1. New factories have been built to produce the necessities of war, and existing plants have been expanded for this purpose. New workers, together with their families, have taxed the facilities of communities, geared to prewar populations, to a point where health and working efficiency are endangered unless drastic action is taken.

2. Production in factories engaged in making articles for civilian consumption has been curtailed in order to conserve strategic man power and materials and to hasten the conversion of all possible facilities to war production. This has created temporary unemployment, necessitated training programs to fit workers for new processes, and has frequently changed the economic character of the community.

3. Large concentrations of single young men engaged in military training create problems of a social character for adjacent towns as well as taxing many of the physical facilities of the community.

In addition to these elements of change which bear only on particular individual communities, there are others which affect every city, town, and hamlet in the United States:

We are beginning, first of all, to feel the pinch of a man-power shortage which is entirely unprecedented in our national history. In the days of our rapid economic development, there was a steady stream of immigrants from the overpopulated countries of Europe, eager to do our work for us. More recently, the rapid growth of machine production and those aspects of modern industrial capitalism which restricted the expansion of production by limiting purchasing power have conditioned us to the existence of a large labor surplus. Now that we are simultaneously withdrawing much of our man power from civilian life, both for military service and to meet the demands of expanding production, we face an entirely new situation. Several things necessarily are beginning to happen: Women are being drawn into employment

outside the home; workers are being taken from less essential and from poorly paid occupations; prejudices against certain groups because of race, color, or nationality are beginning to break down; all are having to work harder and longer hours.

This developing labor shortage will create many problems which communities must prepare to face. First and most obvious is the necessity to provide care for the children of women going into industry. But new means also must be devised to answer many needs formerly met by low-paid or unpaid labor.

The recent appointment of a War Manpower Commission under Paul McNutt gives us confidence that many of these difficulties will be resolved and that men and women who are seeking opportunities to serve will find places best suited to their skills and experience.

The second problem facing all American communities is the gradual but accelerated disappearance from civilian use of many articles basic to our present way of life. Most obvious and most drastic is the approaching end of all rubber available for civilian use. It is hard to imagine what this is going to mean to our community life, all of which has been based on easy transportation. But communities must meet this problem at once if they are not to be confronted later with complete paralysis.

The third problem is that of civilian protection against enemy attack. This is chiefly a problem for community organization and action, even though the coöperation and technical advice of military authorities are essential.

The fourth problem confronting all American communities, and the one for which social workers have a particular responsibility, is the individual human need which inevitably follows in the wake of the dislocations and hardships of war.

The fifth problem for which the local community must at least share responsibility is the intangible state of mind we describe as "morale." This involves a sense of participation in the war effort, an understanding of its problems, and confidence in the competence of the Government to extend protection to individuals against the military, economic, and social hazards of war. It is the

very backbone of the national capacity to wage effective, aggressive warfare.

It has always been a part of our philosophy of government that problems bearing directly on the lives of people should be solved, in so far as possible, by the unit of government and social institutions closest to the people themselves. In the present crisis, when we talk of "community organization," we have in mind the mobilization of all these community resources so that they may be effectively used in meeting the staggering new needs created by war conditions.

But it would be naïve to assume that in this total war the individual community should be thrown back exclusively on its own resources. Obviously, it needs both information and guidance from the National Government, which is responsible for the conduct and policies of the war from which the local problems spring. Moreover, it needs financial assistance in meeting certain types and degrees of need which require the support of a wider tax base than that of the individual community. Clearly, a community which by reason of its location is in particular danger of bombing should not be expected to meet the entire cost of protecting itself or of underwriting individual or community loss should bombing occur. A town whose industries undergo conversion from civilian to military production should not be expected to meet unaided the cost of supporting the workers thus thrown into temporary unemployment. These and the other hazards of war are national in character; it is only the accident of geography and economic history that causes them to impose disproportionate burdens on certain communities. Only through Federal financing can those burdens be equalized.

The fundamental problem in wartime community organization is how to reconcile the necessity for local initiative and responsibility with the equal necessity for Federal guidance and financial assistance. It is largely due to the difficulties of achieving an effective working relationship between the Federal Government and the local communities that community organization has lagged so far behind the problems it must solve.

The first move to meet this problem was taken by the National

Defense Advisory Commission, pioneer of the Federal agencies set up to stimulate and coördinate the civilian defense program, in the establishment of a Division of State and Local Coöperation. On August 2, 1940, this division issued a memorandum outlining its own function, analyzing the problem both in terms of the needs to be met and the complicated governmental relationships involved in their solution, and suggesting a plan of organization for both state and local defense councils. This proposal emphasized the importance of utilizing the existing departments of the state and local governments in meeting problems within their normal fields of activity and suggested six major functional fields around which the defense councils should be organized. These were: (1) agricultural resources and production; (2) civil protection, both in the sense of maintaining law and order and protecting civil liberties; (3) health, welfare, and consumer interest; (4) housing, works, and facilities; (5) human resources and skills; and (6) industrial resources and production.

This plan had much merit and bears rereading in the light of nearly two years of comparative failure to achieve effective community organization, especially in the field of health, welfare, and consumer interest. It is worth while to consider the factors which prevented effective organization under a plan which was, in itself, excellent.

Like most of the earlier failures to achieve orderly and adequate progress in the defense effort, it was caused by the habit of mind which we now recognize in the opprobrious term "business as usual." In this case, it meant that persons engaged in the various agencies, both governmental and private, whose resources this plan was intended to mesh together as an effective working mechanism, were still inhibited by an often unconscious concern for the prerogatives of the particular government unit or agency with which they were associated. States feared Federal domination; localities feared state domination; private agencies feared public domination. Politicians feared the effect of the drive for "national unity" on a career which is necessarily, in a democracy, based on differing points of view. Above all, there was fear of the social and economic change which all sensed but few admitted was bound to

occur as the defense program advanced. Frequently agencies and groups, fearful for their very survival, sought protection in an effort to attribute to themselves peculiar and exclusive jurisdiction with respect to defense-related problems. Here again confusion was created, and the development of effective machinery for utilizing all resources was delayed.

Fortunately, as the situation has progressed and the problems become more obvious and more urgent, this habit of mind has tended to give way to awareness of the danger confronting us all and the importance of utilizing every resource to win the war. All that is asked now is leadership. "Tell us what to do and we will do it," is heard on every side.

The second reason for failure to achieve effective community organization under past efforts is the absence of strong Federal leadership. I do not intend to minimize in any degree the importance of state and, more especially, local leadership. They are, of course, the very core of effective community organization in the areas affecting individual human well-being. But the problems with which local leadership must deal are Federal in origin; they spring from the policies and decisions of agencies, both civilian and military, dealing with the national defense. The framers of our Constitution wisely recognized that the national security was a Federal responsibility; in time of war the implementation of this responsibility takes forms never contemplated in the peacetime division of governmental responsibilities. State and local leaders, however able and unselfishly concerned with the total public interest, can only move in a state of bewildered confusion if they do not have access to information and guidance from the National Government, based on intimate knowledge of the progress of war policies and activities as a whole.

It was perhaps inevitable in the twilight days of the defense program when we were not yet avowedly at war, yet were struggling to throw off the complacent and unrealistic attitudes of peacetime, that Federal leadership should be tentative, gingerly, and overly solicitous of state and local jurisdiction. At any rate, very few defense councils were organized in the suggested pattern, and no effort was made to utilize the pressure of a strong field

force or the ultimate sanction of Federal funds for construction and maintenance of community facilities to bring about an organization which would be comprehensive and effective in terms of the total situation.

The early attempts at the organization of state and local defense councils were typically a combining of the efforts of civic, commercial, and promotional groups, usually under the leadership of the chamber of commerce, the mayor, or some prominent industrialist, to secure defense contracts and to provide for military protection. These attempts resulted in an unreal representation of various elements in the community. There was very little effort, for instance, to include representation of various racial groups, labor groups, churches, and social welfare and health services. Unfortunately, this weakness has been carried over into some more recent organization experiences.

An inherent part of the difficulty in achieving strong and effective relationships between the Federal defense and war agencies and the states and communities is the age-old conflict between coördination and specialized functions. The natural impulse of Federal agencies operating in special fields, such as welfare, health, education, housing, recreation, and the like, to deal with local situations either through their regularly established channels or directly with the community affected, both aggravated and was in turn aggravated by the difficulties of the Division of State and Local Coöperation. This was especially true in the health, welfare, and related fields where defense coördination was centered in the Office of Defense, Health, and Welfare Services within the Federal Security Agency. Not only does this office have its own coördinating mechanism through regional councils of Federal agency field representatives, but its agents concerned with special fields have established community committees to deal with problems in that field. Local committees on recreation, social protection, nutrition, and family security have been set up, often drawing on the same personnel. While these special committees are supposed to tie in to the over-all defense councils, this relationship is frequently more nominal than real, partly owing to the fact that local defense councils themselves were not organized

with these fields in mind. Thus, a vicious circle is continued, and the results of lack of effective coördination tend in turn to delay and make more difficult its ultimate achievement.

The Office of Civilian Defense, inheriting these same difficulties from its predecessor, was confused in its initial stages by a tendency to solve the problem of overlapping field organization by assuming to itself functions already assigned to the Office of Defense, Health, and Welfare Services. This confusion of function has now been resolved by a clear-cut agreement between the two agencies, leaving functional planning and operations to the ODHWS and community organization to the OCD.

The OCD is confronted with many difficulties in the job to bring about effective and coördinated community organization. Not only do approximately nine thousand communities claim to have defense councils, about which little is known at the national level, but the number of virtually independent committees dealing with special problems which must be assimilated into the over-all organizational complex is beyond calculation. In approaching this problem, the OCD is confronted with the fourth major difficulty of its predecessor—the problem of channeling through the state to local authorities.

The traditional channel of Federal agencies in dealing with community problems has been through the appropriate state agencies, with very few exceptions. This tradition was rigidly adhered to by the former Division of State and Local Coöperation, with the result that in those states where the channels to community action on defense problems were not well organized, Federal action was definitely blocked. The first director of the OCD tended to the opposite extreme, frequently dealing with local authorities directly and leaving state officials completely in the dark. This about-face in policy has further added to the confusion with which the OCD is at present confronted.

The problem is not hard to analyze; the solution is difficult, requiring the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon. Problems of human well-being growing out of the war must be solved by an effective combination of Federal leadership and local initiative and energetic activity. State authorities must be informed at

all times and must assume responsibility for those matters in which they have jurisdiction. At the same time, they must not be permitted to stand between Federal agents and local communities or to place a damper on the activities of the latter in endeavoring to meet its own problems. The leadership from the Federal Government must have a degree of flexibility which will enable it to function in emergencies and with dispatch when speed is needed. Federal agencies, however, must not bear down on local communities, with an overpowering burden of unrelated plans, proposals, and requests. At the same time, the process of coördination should not stand between community need and the Federal, state, or other specialists who can assist in their solution.

The first step is clearly the revival or remodeling of state and local defense councils into effective coördinating mechanisms capable of dealing with all problems relating to the war, including those of individual civilians. This process is moving forward through OCD field activities and through the issuance of a new manual. If mere persuasion does not prove adequate, it might be well for Federal authorities to consider the possibility of making effective state and local organization a condition of the expenditure of Federal funds for community facilities and civilian protection equipment. This is the traditional method of applying Federal sanctions in areas of state and local jurisdiction and should not be regarded with too much timidity when the national security is at stake.

Once Federal agencies have themselves joined together in realistic over-all planning based on a clear-cut definition of function, and once a network of effective state and local organization has been achieved, it is my feeling that the result will be a tremendous release of local energy and initiative in meeting local problems. As so frequently happens, the fear of infringing on local autonomy has itself resulted in a paralysis of local initiative. The true measure of Federal leadership will be the degree to which it can bring about the necessary clarification of function and organization so that local leadership and enterprise can again breathe and move and solve the community's problems in the traditional way of American democracy.

THE AWAKENED VOLUNTEER INTEREST

By *KATHARINE R. VAN SLYCK*

BEFORE THIS COUNTRY'S defense program had been long underway, it became apparent that the majority of our citizens wanted to contribute their time and effort to the winning of the battle for the democratic way of life. Among these people were interventionists, who had a compulsion "to do something," with no clear idea as to what needed to be done. Another group was sincerely concerned about social problems and wanted to make their community and their country strong. There was a third group, too, their motives primarily selfish, who desired above all to wear a uniform, to join any sort of activity that sounded glamorous, and who preferred not to work through established channels.

This last group, for the most part, will never want volunteer jobs in social agencies, but they must concern social workers because their organizations can hamper sound community organization of volunteer service and their members are often the people who can spend vast sums for publicity and promotion. Too often councils of social agencies paid no attention to these volunteer groups, when, had they been more alert to the dangerous possibilities, they could have either kept them from forming or, at least, have kept them in line. I use the word "dangerous" advisedly because I have seen communities where such organizations used aggressive recruiting methods in direct competition with the official recruiting media; offered worthless training courses; engendered class feeling; and confused the public to

such an extent that a soundly planned, coördinated, community-wide volunteer service program was never possible to achieve. Fortunately, this group, while articulate, and sometimes powerful, is small in comparison with the number of sincere citizens who want to do a more basic job.

In considering how councils of social agencies and agency executives may deal with the serious volunteers, we must recognize two factors. First is the enormous increase in numbers of volunteers. In 1937 fifteen central volunteer bureaus had 2,417 active volunteers on their lists, an average of 161 each; while in February, 1942, in St. Louis, 4,300 citizens enrolled for an orientation course in health and welfare services, and 2,110 of this number offered specific service. The latest figures of the Office of Civilian Defense show 7,250,000 active volunteers in all types of work. In the health welfare and related fields, there is a total of 1,500,000 volunteers, and included in this figure are 29,000 in family security services; 17,000 in child-care services; 61,000 in health and hospital services; and 107,000 in recreation, group work, and informal education services.

Second, the new volunteer may come from any walk of life. Gone is the day when the volunteer came only from the leisured group, with no specialized training of any kind. Among the new volunteers are people professionally trained in various fields who in peacetime either were not interested in volunteering their free time or considered themselves too busy.

Morale demanded an outlet for the sincere patriots. Then, too, the anticipated personnel needs in the health and welfare field and the necessary protection programs made it essential to think of volunteer service in terms never before contemplated. That the Federal Government understood the situation is proved by the Executive order establishing the OCD, one section of which provided for a Division of Volunteer Participation, since then changed to Civilian Mobilization. Many people who had never realized the needs of social agencies and the channels of community organization assumed that Federal OCD plans for volunteers would be concerned only with the protection programs. That

that was not the plan is a matter for which social workers should be grateful.

The recommended OCD plan calls for the establishment of a Civilian Defense Volunteer Office as an integral part of a local defense council, and considers the social agencies' relationship to the volunteer office. The plan is simple in conception yet difficult of execution, as is invariably the case in any type of coördinating agency. A CDVO is nothing more than an official, centralized medium for the recruiting, training, and placement of volunteers in any type of community service that needs volunteer personnel. The underlying principle, of course, is that a volunteer will be effective in direct proportion to the degree of utilization of his or her particular interests and qualifications. Another principle is that the agency, city department, or committee to which the volunteer is referred must have the responsibility for accepting or rejecting him, and if it accepts him, it must take responsibility for directing his work.

The advantages of this plan are obvious. It coördinates all volunteer work, obviating competition, duplication, and waste of volunteer man power; it insures utilization of individual skills; it insures a proper balance of volunteers among all types of programs so that all needs are equitably met; it provides a place where citizens can get authoritative information on necessary training; it should eliminate worthless training courses by withholding official sanction; it studies the field of volunteer training and stimulates the proper sources to give the needed training; and, perhaps most important to social workers, it establishes clearly and unmistakably that provision for health and welfare needs is an integral part of the war effort.

One possibility which I feared most in the development of the new volunteer movement was that in the event of war the needs of the social agencies would be lost sight of in what would be called strictly war work. While in many instances the CDVO falls far short of the standards envisaged by the OCD plan, still it is a fact that this country has now enlisted tens of thousands of volunteers in social and health agencies who would never have come in peacetime.

Many councils of social agencies and agency executives have spent much time and thought on volunteers and have accomplished admirable results. The difficulties in working out plans with the CDVO have often been great. There are some factors interfering with the successful establishment of these volunteer offices that professional social workers might have done something about:

1. Some councils of social agencies and some social workers were so fearful of being saddled with more volunteers than their agencies could possibly absorb that they did not participate themselves, and did not encourage their experienced laymen to participate. Result: The CDVO came into being anyway, with inexperienced or politically inspired people at the helm.

2. Councils of social agencies and the individual agencies sometimes disliked the idea of the CDVO being a public agency; some of them unconsciously or consciously felt that community planning was the inalienable right of the private agencies and resented the possibility of having city officials tell them how to plan volunteer programs. Result: the CDVO came into being anyway, but it ignored the health and welfare field.

3. Some councils of social agencies with already established volunteer bureaus, which had been placing at most two or three hundred carefully selected volunteers yearly in a comparatively few selected private agencies, simply could not contemplate the load of some ten thousand volunteer registrations and took the attitude, "Let's keep this nice little thing we have and not bother with the volunteers or the new programs." Result: In at least one city, after two years of war pressures, the little volunteer bureau could not even keep the business it had and finally had to include war work. By that time it was too late. Many volunteer organizations had sprung up with ineffective programs, uniforms, and much fanfare, and the time had passed when volunteers could be enlisted in the social agencies.

4. Some councils whose volunteer bureaus became the nucleus of CDVOs were at first pleased to have an existing agency used and expanded, but not so pleased when the local defense council actually took over the bureau. In some instances councils even

opposed the physical moving of the volunteer bureau from the council office to a city building. Result: friction between the defense council and the council of social agencies with the latter losing not only influence, but the opportunity to assist the defense council in planning for health and welfare services.

These examples are more than isolated instances. The 2,300 established CDVOs indicate that most sizable communities probably already have some sort of a CDVO. Therefore, we should not spend too much time discussing what might have been done, or complaining about politicians or uninformed lay people who may be guiding the programs. We should discuss what we can still do. In this connection there are two principles which we must accept as valid:

1. If we admit that the war program, both in military and civilian terms, is the responsibility of government and that the proper local organization of volunteer service is a necessary part of the war effort, then logically a CDVO must be a part of the local defense council rather than a part of a council of social agencies. It is the defense council which by law is responsible for seeing that the various local aspects of the war program are carried out.

2. The council of social agencies must recognize the jurisdictional rights of the defense council. Therefore its approach to the defense council must be that of offering its services to the total CDVO program rather than asking to be given the responsibility for the volunteer program in the health and welfare field. However, even if a council of social agencies has no control over a CDVO, it has a responsibility to its program. Clearly, the agencies which the council represents are going to be affected by that program through placement of volunteers, the number of volunteers, the quality of training previously given, etc. If councils of social agencies and their member agencies do not plan with the volunteer group, the latter will carry on health and welfare activities which are not geared in with existing community services and which have had no guidance from an experienced group.

I am convinced from observing various types of volunteer organization in several Canadian cities that the only way the social

agencies can keep their present volunteers—let alone recruit new ones—and through them keep lay interest and support, is to come into the community's centralized recruiting pattern.

It must be clear that the relationship of the council of social agencies to the CDVO is a voluntary one and an advisory one. Probably the most successful relationship occurs where the council of social agencies is in a position to lend professional personnel on a full-time basis to the CDVO, as is done in Cleveland, Detroit, Bridgeport, and other places. It is important, however, that there be no strings attached to the loaned staff member and that he be responsible only to the director of the CDVO. The loan of a staff member under those conditions is not an unselfish action, because the health and welfare agencies will be more than repaid by having a person with their point of view in a key position in the CDVO. Obviously, not many councils of social agencies are so situated that they can lend their staff full time. What then? Some lend personnel on a regular part-time basis. If that is not possible, they lend staff members to important committees when community planning is a part of the committee's scope.

Some councils have not been called in by those planning the CDVO. Should they do nothing? If necessary, the council should take the first step. If the community is one in which the protection programs are consuming public interest or one in which social workers are not looked upon with favor, councils have found it best to have the approach made by laymen connected with the council.

The approach under these circumstances must be made carefully and tactfully. It is useless to argue that the established social agencies have a place in the war picture. People only become impatient, and if they were not socially minded in normal times they are not quickly going to become so in wartime. The approach should be on the basis of the council's experience in the techniques of community organization: "We can help you to do better the job of recruiting volunteers for the war services." If the offer is accepted, the education can begin, and in planning the function of committees such as the training committee, the work opportunities committee, etc., the council will have many

opportunities to point out the place of the social agencies in the war picture, and the need for careful placement of volunteers.

The special job of council personnel, then, is to offer their skills and their professional equipment to the CDVO. The council can act as the liaison between the CDVO and the various social and health agencies. It could, for instance, call together the agencies dealing with children and assume the leadership in getting them to analyze their work, in terms of possible opportunities for volunteers, and to plan training. Also, many agencies which have never used volunteers will need a good deal of help on the organization of a volunteer program, on methods of supervision and in-service training, and in determining the qualifications for each of their volunteer positions. The council should be the pool for sharing experiences, including the successful and the unsuccessful methods of handling volunteers. The depression proved that social workers could greatly increase the sphere of their professional influence by supervising untrained workers, and many now realize that the same principle can be applied to volunteers.

Besides the planning and training of volunteers within one field, many CDVOs have wisely seen the desirability of a basic orientation course for all volunteers who are to work in the health and welfare field, and many councils have been called upon to organize these general courses. Actually, these courses are not very different from those which many councils have been offering every year through their central volunteer bureaus.

Only a small percentage of those registering in the CDVOs will be placed in social agencies, for not a very large number of potential volunteers have the desirable qualifications. Let us not be too fearful about the numbers of volunteers and let us admit that certain agencies, especially the case work group, cannot absorb very many. There is no reason for the executive of a case work agency to feel apologetic if he can accept only fifteen volunteers when the hospital next door accepts 200. He need apologize only if he accepts the fifteen without previously having carefully planned their work in all its phases. Social workers, even if they use only a small proportion of the available volunteers, must con-

cern themselves with the whole volunteer movement in order to secure for their own agencies those who have the proper qualifications and an understanding of the relationship of this type of volunteer work to the war effort.

A twelve-year professional experience in an organization made up of volunteers has convinced me that social and health agencies have a potential gold mine of loyal supporters if they will but take the trouble to educate them and give them opportunities for service. Had more agencies given serious attention to developing volunteers in the past, I doubt that the country would have so frequently seen social service and boondoggling mentioned in the same category by the press. Volunteers are anxious to roll up their sleeves and go to work; and the more they are treated like paid employees and the less like privileged creatures, the better they like it.

A few months ago I watched a line of volunteer typists working at a CDVO, without their knowing that they were being observed. They were typing quickly and seriously, as though they were clerical workers employed in a bank. The only difference I could notice was that their light and equipment were inferior to what a bank would have provided. I learned that one was a member of a union, one the wife of the chairman of the Bachelor's Cotillion, one a Junior League member, one an unemployed typist between jobs, and so forth. That's the stuff our democracy is made of. What better way is there to see democracy in action than in volunteer work with citizens of all economic groups working for the common good?

The war may be the impetus now, but what about afterward? That is where the council of social agencies must come in. It must be ready, when demobilization starts and the defense council goes out of business, to hold these volunteers in the continuing health and welfare agencies. It must be ready to keep the purpose and the structure of the CDVO going and adopt it as the arm of the council of social agencies and as the community's central volunteer bureau. Councils will thereby develop a correspondingly broader influence and scope, they will provide a far larger channel of interpretation for their member agencies, and

they will be the spokesman, not only for the comparatively small group of employed social workers, but for all the citizens who have the welfare of the community at heart. We desperately need to develop a feeling of community responsibility on the part of citizens in general. The CDVOs are now stimulating it, and providing the channel, but who will continue to do it after the war, unless it is the councils of social agencies?

ORGANIZING FOR DISASTER PREPAREDNESS

By DeWITT C. SMITH

IN ORGANIZING A COMMUNITY for disaster preparedness, consideration and planning should be limited to those natural and accident-caused situations which in the United States have come to be designated with special significance as "disasters." They are usually catastrophic in nature, such as hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, fires, explosions, and epidemics. While the human needs arising out of enemy action in wartime are, in general, the same as those arising out of disaster, the community organization to deal with such needs must be planned somewhat differently. Furthermore, the peculiar connotation of the word "disaster" makes its use ill-advised in emergencies resulting from enemy action. For that reason, and in the interest of clarity, the term "civilian war aid" is coming into use to differentiate this latter field of activity from disaster relief.

We cannot ignore the fact that we are at war, and in our organization for disaster preparedness we must take fully into account the additional problems resulting from the war; must coordinate preparedness for disaster with preparedness for civilian war aid; and may assume that the disaster preparedness organization will have added value through participating in, or assuming responsibility for, the emergency aspects of civilian war aid during the stage in which it must be dealt with on a mass basis. Furthermore, we should not overlook the fact that preparedness for disaster becomes even more important in wartime than in peacetime. This is true because peacetime disasters assume an

increased importance in wartime and make adequate preparedness and relief even more necessary and valuable than under normal conditions, so that the productive capacity and the war effort of the country as a whole may be interrupted as little as possible by disaster. There is, in addition, the possibility of an increased number of disasters such as fires, explosions, and epidemics which may be expected to result from accelerated activity incident to war.

The need for organizing a community for disaster preparedness is seldom realized fully until after a disaster has struck. Even those directly concerned with related problems usually lack a full appreciation of the importance of adequate preparedness. Certainly the general public is scarcely aware that within eight weeks tornadoes alone struck fifteen times in seventy-three counties in fourteen states. Approximately three hundred persons were killed, more than sixteen hundred injured, and several thousand made homeless. Some fourteen hundred homes were completely destroyed and nearly as many damaged. If an enemy attack upon either of our shores had created even a small fraction of this distress, the news would have crowded every other story out of the headlines. Instead, we have become so accustomed to disasters in this country and have so organized to deal with the resulting distress that they no longer seem extraordinary or unexpected. Consequently, before adequate preparedness can be organized the problem must be more generally understood.

While we have no really scientific statistical data, we do have general information resulting from actual experience during the years since the close of the First World War, which points to the need for an adequate preparedness program and serves as a guide to the kind of organization and the nature and extent of relief measures required. The information must be used only as a general guide because some disasters affect limited areas and only a few families, while others spread over tens of thousands of square miles, require the setting up of relief organizations in hundreds of communities, and involve the supplying of basic necessities to literally hundreds of thousands of families.

We do not know exactly when and where any specific disaster

will strike. We do know, on the basis of past experience, that it will strike and that no section, or state, or even county or community is entirely immune. From that same past experience we know something about the probable frequency, time of year, geographical location, nature, severity, and extent of most disasters to be expected.

Relief has been extended following more than two thousand disasters in continental United States and Alaska since the close of the First World War period.

We have a fairly accurate record of the twenty-one fiscal years from July 1, 1920, through June 30, 1941, from which to draw conclusions. During the first five years of that period the number of disasters in which relief was extended averaged only seventy-one annually; they have increased so that in the last five-year period they averaged 128 annually—an increase due, in some measure, to greater alertness to need, somewhat to increased density of population, but chiefly to an increase in the incidence of disasters.

Since the close of the First World War no state has been immune from disaster. The number of disaster relief operations by states ranges all the way from one to 142. It seems healthier not to mention the state which had only one disaster in twenty-one years and the one which had 142 in the same period. The number of states in which relief was extended in any one year following disaster has varied from a minimum of thirty to a maximum of forty-four. Of the 3,070 counties in the United States, 2,076 different counties have received aid in disaster relief operations.

Hurricanes, tornadoes, and other destructive windstorms represent the largest single group from the standpoint of numbers of disasters, with 35 percent of the total; floods are next with 22 percent; fires represent 20 percent; and all other types make up the remaining 23 percent. However, from the standpoint of their extent and the need for relief the picture is decidedly different. The number of persons aided in any one year following disasters has varied from a minimum of 11,000 to a maximum of nearly three million. Floods affected more persons and required a greater total for relief than any other type of disaster. Forty-three percent of

all persons aided needed assistance as a result of floods; 60 per cent of all relief expenditures was on behalf of flood sufferers.

Disasters are more frequent and more varied in the United States than in any other country. Almost every type of disaster occurs here, but tornadoes, the most destructive of all storms within their limited areas of impact, seem to be confined to the United States. This is not to say that other parts of the world do not suffer from disasters, and from extremely severe ones. The eruption of Vesuvius which wiped out Pompeii was very final, as was that of Pelée which did the same for Martinique. Then there was the Japanese earthquake in 1923 which killed about two hundred thousand persons. Many Americans have contributed to the drought and flood sufferers of China. Chile, Peru, and some of the other west coast countries of Latin America are subject to severe earthquakes, and there have been countless other disasters outside the United States. However, many countries, such as England, France, and Germany, seem to have almost no disasters except for an occasional mine explosion or fire. Certainly, we must learn within our own shores how to organize for disaster preparedness.

Disasters do not respect geographical or political boundaries. They are seldom confined to local communities. When they are so confined, the destruction is sometimes complete. This year a tornado struck a town of nearly two thousand in which every residence was reported to be either destroyed or damaged, together with a considerable number of the business buildings. Obviously, disaster preparedness to be effective must be organized on a national and regional as well as local community basis.

Organization for preparedness on a national basis has been under way for many years. Congress placed upon the American Red Cross responsibility, not only to render relief following disasters, but also to devise and carry on measures for preventing them. While a relief organization cannot prevent floods or other national calamities it can contribute toward reducing the resulting suffering.

Years of experience have been utilized in developing a basic preparedness plan designed to assist families and individuals to

the extent that their needs are disaster-caused and cannot be met by themselves. The plan embraces assistance in warning, voluntary evacuation, and rescue; medical and nursing aid; food, clothing, and shelter in the emergency period; and rehabilitation, including the repairing and rebuilding of homes, the providing of household furnishings, farm supplies, livestock, and equipment, and the supplying of occupational training, equipment, and supplies.

To render these services requires a flexible national organization equipped to coördinate the work of local units throughout the country and actually to direct and conduct those phases of the work which by their nature must be done on a national, regional, state, or other territorial basis larger than a county or local community. Adequate organization of the national community for disaster preparedness means, among other things, provision for large-scale financing; for training and maintaining a regular professional relief staff together with an adequate reserve corps of professional or technical workers including social workers, nurses, building advisors, accountants, and others not regularly employed by the relief organization but listed as available in time of actual disaster; for furthering the coöperation of all appropriate national agencies, governmental and private, through understandings of which those between the Red Cross and the Army, the Coast Guard, the Weather Bureau, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the War Production Board are typical; for surveying national disaster hazards and maintaining contacts with the appropriate scientific and other organizations; for developing special preparedness plans to deal with well-defined hazards extending beyond individual community boundaries such as the hurricane area in Florida and the flood areas in the Ohio, Mississippi, and other river valleys; for making available to local communities information on areas of hazard, such as data for areas subject to floods, designed to translate river stages into probable relief needs by enabling local communities to determine the probable number of families affected at any particular river stage; for maintaining at strategic locations throughout the country warehouses with essential relief supplies, which cannot during

wartime be obtained speedily through the normal channels of trade; for keeping continuously alert to signs of impending disasters; for continuous attention to the development of sound policies, techniques, and procedures; for the continuous utilization of past experience in estimating relief needs, the extent of organization, and the probable cost of relief in any disaster situation which may arise; for the conduct of local institutes or meetings to stimulate interest and bring to committees the benefit of experience in other communities; for keeping abreast of national governmental action or development affecting the need for disaster preparedness or the rendering of relief in time of disaster; and for devising ways in which local communities may arrange to keep their disaster preparedness organization alive and effective even during long periods without disaster.

While effective disaster preparedness cannot be organized upon a local community basis alone, it is equally true that no amount of national or regional organization will function satisfactorily without a network of local units throughout the country, with adequate disaster preparedness plans to enlist the interest, leadership, and resources of each community.

Upon each local community is placed the responsibility of maintaining a committee on disaster preparedness and relief with subcommittees responsible for such activities as surveying the disaster hazards and the local resources; obtaining coöperative understandings between public and private agencies and groups; and developing a well-defined disaster preparedness organization commensurate with the particular needs of the community.

Locally, as in the nation as a whole, community organization is the means of tapping all available appropriate resources to accomplish a desired purpose. When it is contemplated that a large part of the population of a community may be rendered homeless and in need of most of the basic necessities of life within a few hours or even minutes, the necessary plans, organization, and facilities must have been made ready well in advance if great personal suffering is to be avoided.

For such a purpose, there must be rigid adherence to sound fundamentals. These would certainly include broad consultation

and planning for united action in the interest of all the residents of the community; a general understanding that all efforts do represent the community as an entity—the doing of a job on behalf of all the people; full participation of all appropriate agencies and groups—governmental as well as private, civic, commercial, and social, professional, and volunteer; widest possible use of existing agencies and resources before new agencies or services are improvised; the utilization of the simple, readily available equipment and facilities instead of specially devised, more expensive, but less practical ones; the assignment of existing community organizations and resources for participation in the fields for which they are particularly adapted, so as to avoid duplication and to accord recognition; and, perhaps most important, authoritative, undivided, popularly recognized leadership.

As the disaster relief agency of the nation and the community, the Red Cross assumes responsibility for direction and coördination of disaster preparedness measures. It establishes a general committee and necessary subcommittees. These generally include: survey, rescue, medical and nursing aid, food, shelter, clothing, transportation and communication, registration and information, fund raising and public information, and central purchase and supply. In small communities, these subcommittees are often combined and in some instances the main disaster preparedness and relief committee may consist of only one person for each of the subcommittees listed. In the fields of activity indicated, the most competent persons in the community should be selected. They must be representative in their respective fields so that they can assure the wholehearted support of organized groups as well as individuals.

Since disaster relief represents assistance to persons in need, a most important phase of organization is, of course, in the social service field. If there is a council of social agencies, or similar organization, it should be the channel through which the resources of the welfare agencies are drawn upon in making disaster preparedness plans. There can thus be allotted to each agency the task which it will perform during disaster. The needs must be understood thoroughly by each agency so that there

will be willingness to assist wholeheartedly. An inventory of agency personnel will determine how many workers can be made available and the task which each can perform best. An understanding of the range of needs of families affected by disaster will lead to plans for each agency to shoulder the maximum burden in its field when disaster strikes.

Medical, surgical, and nursing care, provisions of food, shelter, and clothing are the principal services for which community organization is essential if suffering is to be held to a minimum. Preparations for meeting emergency needs for hospitalization and the other medical demands are accomplished by planning with and through the appropriate professional organizations and groups in the community, including the hospital association as well as the medical, dental, and nursing groups.

It is significant that the special disaster relief organization in this field does not substitute for local physicians, dentists, and nurses, but coöperates with them by organizing and directing the relief work and by providing the facilities which they need in the emergency. This assistance may include emergency aid to the injured; furnishing medical and nursing services where necessary; arranging for hospital care; improvising emergency stations; and providing medical and hospital supplies. The reasons for these preparations and the basis of the organization must be understood fully by the professional groups if they are to participate wholeheartedly. It must be recognized that the supervision of the public health in disaster areas is a primary responsibility of the state and local health authorities. The disaster committee should coöperate with and assist the public health officials in every way.

It is particularly important to recognize the adverse conditions and the difficulties under which relief may have to be extended. Shock, exposure, worry, and fatigue are contributory to illness and create a problem which cannot be ignored. The emergency medical work may have to be done in the face of disrupted power and light service, crippled communications, and immense difficulty in distributing supplies. Candlelight or oil lamps, unheated rooms, scarcity of pure water, sleep when and where it can be obtained—these may be the working conditions. Only personnel of the highest caliber can measure up under such circumstances.

Responsibility for the food supply is highly important in disaster. Satisfying, adequate food is essential to the morale and health of the sufferers. Cooking facilities may be inadequate, the water supply limited, and transportation of bulky foods difficult. The subcommittee on food should arrange with restaurant proprietors for the feeding of small numbers of persons, but where a large-scale disaster is being considered, arrangements must be made for mass feeding.

Preparations for feeding in disaster require two phases of community organization: the use of existing facilities and special organization. The best way to care for needy persons is by the most normal means available. This applies to feeding as well as to other activities. Consequently, community organization to use existing feeding services is important. Responsible leaders in the restaurant field should be included on the committee so as to organize the commercial feeding resources and to make plans for such resources to be used for large-scale feeding. Restaurant and hotel associations are the community agencies in this field. Improvised services may also be necessary. This requires the organization and use of certain types of existing resources and also special facilities. Parent-Teacher Associations, church and other community groups experienced in noncommercial feeding should be organized into units to serve in accordance with carefully worked out plans. Nutritionists, dietitians, home demonstration agents, home economics teachers, and other such leaders help to mobilize the community's feeding resources.

A disaster may so cripple existing facilities that improvised feeding services are required in large measure. For this purpose, direct recruiting of volunteers for Red Cross canteen corps is necessary. Women interested in school lunch programs and in other community service types of feeding are good workers. A canteen program is strengthened if ways are found for it to fit into the community in a continuing service capacity. Thus a canteen corps might assume responsibility in connection with a school lunch program. This at once strengthens community organization by bringing the Red Cross disaster relief organization into a live relationship with Parent-Teacher Associations, the

public school authorities, the Work Projects Administration, and the Agricultural Marketing Administration, which are participants, in service and supply, in the school lunch program.

Feeding requires a high degree of coördination of all community resources. Adequate preparations for supplies are important. Leading retail and wholesale grocers can help to perfect arrangements for supplies during disasters. If there is a trade association or a food division of the Retail Merchants Association, such a group should be woven into the committee organization. In small disasters the supply problem is not significant, but in large operations resources of the community may be taxed to the limit, or exhausted, in which case the community structure serves as the medium through which regional and national channels are opened.

To provide housing facilities for disaster sufferers and to conduct refugee centers require community organization for the use of both physical facilities and personnel. Advance planning is required in surveying housing facilities, including such buildings as city auditoriums, schools, churches, lodge halls, hotels and rooming houses, and to assure that the buildings are equipped with adequate sanitary and cooking facilities, protected from fire and other special hazards, and listed as to suitability for the housing of men, women, and children.

Leading representatives of hotel managers and real estate operators, public housing officials, club officers, and others familiar with the problems of housing and caring for people in large groups can contribute to arrangements for the full use of all public, semipublic, and private group housing facilities in the locality. In this field also, existing organizations play a large part in contributing to the facilities needed during disaster.

Personnel to man temporary shelters is second only in importance to the physical facilities. When schools, clubs, churches, and other improvised shelters are used, personnel must be available to operate them. It is logical to recruit shelter-management staffs from the membership of organizations making the facilities available for use as temporary shelters. In addition, it is frequently

necessary to recruit volunteers directly for the work. In major disasters all existing temporary shelter facilities are often exhausted. Community organization to meet this condition does not ordinarily involve additional special preparations. Instead, those in charge of shelter call upon the community organization which has been worked out nationally, and the Red Cross brings into action not only its own facilities, but those provided by its national understanding with the War Department, the CCC, and other sources of tents and temporary shelter facilities.

These are but illustrative. In every other phase of the work there should be the same interweaving of the disaster preparedness organization into the total fabric of the community. Preparations to meet clothing and other emergency needs and all the important rehabilitation responsibilities follow a similar organization pattern. It should be emphasized that running through all the activities there is need for women and men trained and experienced in dealing with families in need. This is particularly true in registration and information, in the operation of shelters, and in other activities where there is direct contact with disaster sufferers.

Although the degree of community organization is vastly more extensive and more complicated in large communities than in small ones, the basic principles remain the same. In a small community there are fewer existing agencies which constitute resources available to be woven into the whole pattern of community organization. In such communities there will be relatively more direct organization of individuals to assume responsibility for the various activities and less need for coördination and integration.

Community organization for disaster preparedness is in effect throughout the country in varying measure, depending upon the degree of local disaster hazard. The work is being strengthened, improved, and extended. Our involvement in war has been a great stimulus to preparedness in coastal and industrial areas. Although the results of this effort cannot be evaluated readily, during recent years it has been possible to discern the first evidences of the lessening of disaster suffering as a result of better preparedness. There is greater ease of mind, less excitement and

tension and confusion, and consequently better functioning in time of disaster; relief costs are lower because of reduced damage resulting from the orderly moving of household goods and other belongings to places of safety before advancing flood waters and because of the special preparation of buildings so that they will resist the effects of hurricane winds and water; and there has been a reduction in the number of deaths and injuries in floods and hurricanes because of earlier warning and better planning for safeguarding or rescuing persons in danger.

Another advantage is that—in contrast with England, for example, which had no disaster organization—this disaster relief experience and planning can be utilized to whatever extent may be appropriate in mass aid to persons in distress as a result of enemy action. This is not to say that the Red Cross has the same responsibility in that field. The Federal Government has basic responsibility for the protection, welfare, and care of the civilian population in emergencies resulting from enemy action. But with respect to the period during which special facilities must be made available to meet emergency needs without notice, the Government looks to the organization, facilities, and resources of the Red Cross to provide food, clothing, and temporary shelter. As soon after the emergency as aid can be extended through normal channels the Government will carry out its functions through the regular Federal, state, and local public agencies which are responsible for meeting the needs of dependent individuals and families.

State and local defense councils are responsible for seeing that adequate preparations have been made to meet war hazards. This responsibility covers the entire range of activities which must be ready to operate in the event of bombing. Where needed facilities do not already exist, as in the case of the air raid wardens' service, the defense councils develop the organization required.

Because disaster preparedness is an established activity there have been very few places where defense councils have undertaken organization in the emergency relief field. In most places the existing framework of community organization for disaster preparedness as established and developed by the Red Cross is being ex-

tended and perfected in order to meet the new emergency relief needs of war. A sound community organization means the use of all existing facilities and resources; it is therefore logical for the Red Cross to continue to direct disaster preparedness and service in the locality. It should be re-emphasized that preparedness organization in the community is only part of the total preparedness plan. The nationwide organization is essential to augment that in the locality. Current strengthening of both these phases of disaster preparedness places it in a position to carry on the job of feeding, clothing, and housing in the event of enemy action. Mass emergency care whether in a hurricane, tornado, flood, or fire, or in a bombing, requires the same type of community organization.

Disaster preparedness means community organization. Community organization means marshaling all the existing facilities and resources of a locality for integrated service under the leadership designated for a particular purpose. In disaster relief the Red Cross provides this leadership because of its governmentally assigned and popularly accepted responsibility in this field.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE SELECTIVE SERVICE

By *THEODATE H. SOULE*

EARLY IN THE SPRING of 1940, the North Atlantic District of the American Association of Medical Social Workers began to consider seriously its possible role in defense, and a committee was appointed to explore the areas in which the members of the district might be useful. When selective service was established, its operation was studied with interest. The widespread publication of statistics on the rejections for physical disability aroused concern among medical social workers, particularly because they learned that neither public nor voluntary agencies were making plans for the rehabilitation of these rejected men, either to effect reclassification for army service or to ensure fitness for civilian work. The interpretation of physical disability, the explanation of community resources for treatment, and the relieving of anxieties and fears concerning ill health are essentially the functions of the medical social worker. It was in this area that the Defense Committee believed that a real contribution might be made. They worked out a tentative plan, the purpose of which was twofold: (1) to interest men with obvious remedial defects in seeking voluntary correction or maximum possible recovery; and (2) to gather data in regard to types of disabilities and the resources available for treatment.

The project was outlined to Colonel Samuel J. Kopetsky, Chief of the Medical Division, Selective Service Administration, New York City area, as a demonstration for a period of six months and was received with much interest. The plan had been worked out

in considerable detail, and Colonel Kopetsky was impressed with the fact that the medical social workers were ready to go to work. Together with the committee chairmen, preliminary steps were taken. Approval was received from the Director of the New York City area, Colonel Arthur V. McDermott. Permission was given for the medical social workers to go to the local boards, and a bulletin was sent out by the medical director to the chairmen and clerks of the boards to explain the purpose of the undertaking and to request that the medical social workers be given every assistance possible in their work. The Selective Service Administration furnished space and office equipment at headquarters, agreed to mimeograph the forms used in the project, and allowed the use of franked envelopes for business purposes. All forms and stationery bore the heading, "Volunteer Effort by North Atlantic District, American Association of Medical Social Workers in Cooperation with New York City Selective Service Administration Medical Division."

When the main outline of the project had been accepted, a meeting was held to which all members of the district and other medical social workers in the five boroughs were invited. The plan was presented to them and volunteers were recruited. The response was immediate and enthusiastic, for the workers realized that this was an unusual opportunity to contribute to the health and welfare of a cross section of the community and to extend their services to a more representative group than is usually referred to them in hospitals and clinics. A simple organization was developed with the co-chairmen of the Defense Committee, acting as directors of the project, and twenty-eight supervisors, or approximately one to every ten local boards. Workers were assigned usually to one and sometimes to two boards which, in so far as possible, were located conveniently either to their home or to their work. A full-time secretary with headquarters at the selective service office was obtained. Her salary was provided in part from district funds and in part by an associate member of the district who interested other lay people in the plan. Volunteers, both medical social workers and clerical workers, assisted

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the secretary, and in the last three months of the project one medical social worker gave practically full time to follow-up work.

New York City, made up of five boroughs, has 287 draft boards. Although the total number of volunteers throughout the demonstration was 323, the average number of workers assigned at one time was 175. It was not easy to get started in the heat of the summer and in the midst of the vacation period, but by August 1, 1941, forms and procedures were ready. A general meeting of the volunteers was held and assignments were made. Forms were explained and a bulletin giving directions for their use was distributed. Emphasis was placed on the purpose of the project, which was to interest men with remedial defects voluntarily to seek correction or maximum recovery of these defects. The necessity of strict adherence to the regulations of the governmental agency was stressed as well as the opportunity to interpret medical social work, both to the members of the local boards and to the rejected men. The supervisors continued to meet regularly twice a month to pool their experiences and to learn any new or changed procedures, which they passed on to their workers. Meetings for the full group of volunteers and smaller borough meetings were held at intervals to acquaint everyone with the progress of the project. Two additional bulletins were sent out with important information.

Activity started at headquarters where the statistical clerks in the Medical Division sent to our secretary lists of all men in the 1-B classification. We had been asked to include those men in the 4-F group, but it was evident from the outset that this would be too enormous a task to undertake. The secretary sorted by local boards the names of those classified as 1-B and sent each medical social worker the list of those in the board to which she was assigned, with a copy to the supervisor. The worker, using the form letter provided, wrote each man on her list, asking him to come in for an interview on a designated night. When the registrant appeared for the interview, the worker explained that she was there to discuss rehabilitation services and asked for his written permission to look at his record (Form 200), which was on file at the local board. Selective service has rightly been concerned with the confidential nature of its records and medical

social workers are accustomed to observing the regulations common to the use of hospital and clinic records. In this instance, the permission was signed in triplicate and witnessed; one copy to be attached to Form 200 at the local board, another to be filed with the duplicate at headquarters, and the third to be kept with the worker's records. It was made clear to each draftee that he was a free agent and might refuse to sign with impunity, but that if he did so, the medical social worker could be of little assistance to him. The total number of registrants to whom letters were sent, from August 1, 1941, to March 1, 1942, was 9,634; of these men, 7,638, or 79 percent, were interviewed, and only 1,375 refused to give permission for their records to be read. The medical social workers' reports show that frequently this refusal was due to the man's belief, unshaken despite any explanation by the worker, that he would be "letting himself in for something" if he signed—specifically, for treatment which would result in his induction into the Army.

If the waiver was signed, the interview proceeded. The worker, knowing why the man was rejected, discussed with him any previous medical or dental care and whether he wished to undergo further treatment. Financial data sufficient to determine his ability to pay a physician's fee or his eligibility for clinic admission were obtained. It was ascertained whether there was chronic illness in his home which might have a bearing on the total family situation. Direction for care was based on these medical and economic data and on the man's attitude and interest. In instances where the man seemed reluctant to return to his private physician, the worker made the arrangements for him. If he was referred to a clinic, the medical social worker when possible referred him to her own hospital so that she might follow through his care. Whenever he signified his willingness to have medical or dental attention, his written permission was again requested so that a report might be obtained from the physician, dentist, or clinic to which he planned to go. All the skills used in short-contact case work were brought into use in these unhurried interviews, which on an average lasted from thirty minutes to an hour. The man was encouraged to discuss his problems as he saw them, and many

men had family or personal difficulties which they felt superseded their physical condition. Frequently, referrals were made to various community agencies. The worker's interest was as much to relieve anxiety as to give direction for medical care, but with most of the cases there was no opportunity for more than one interview, so continued case work responsibility was not undertaken.

It had been the contention of selective service officials that only a small proportion of the rejected men, perhaps 20 percent, would be interested in seeking rehabilitation. The figures in this demonstration show that to date 62 percent of those interviewed wanted some direction or were at that time under care. Of those who were definitely referred, more than four times as many were referred to clinics as to private physicians, while of those already under care, nearly three times as many were visiting doctors' offices as were attending clinics. The figures in relation to dental care were even more striking. While less than a third of those needing dental attention were referred to private offices, fifteen times as many already were known to private dentists as were reporting to dental clinics. This is not surprising since the dearth of clinic facilities for dental care is universal throughout the country. Three hundred and ninety-six men who would have liked to have dental attention could not afford even the relatively small fees of clinics, and the medical social workers were unable to arrange free treatment even though every effort was made to do so.

The lack of free resources also affected 103 men who wanted care for medical conditions and four who wanted, but could not afford, both medical and dental treatment. Seventy-one men were so situated that only an evening clinic would have been possible for them, and none was available. If this is the situation in New York City with all its resources, imagine the plight of men in "rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distress," to borrow the phrasing of the Federal Social Security Act.

A large number—1,014—had already attained maximum recovery. The condition of 800 of this group was stationary and could not be improved by medical or surgical attention. In this

category were the many men with vision defects who were already wearing glasses and those with artificial dentures. Nearly two hundred on their own initiative had their disabilities corrected or cured at a clinic or by a private physician or dentist after rejection by selective service but before being called for an interview.

All of those working on the project were greatly interested to learn whether the men would pay attention to the letters sent them. The stationery bore the modest phrase "Volunteer Effort," and the letters simply asked if the registrant would come in to see the medical social worker. On the other hand, the franked envelope had an official look, and most men took their relationship to their selective service board seriously. Thirteen hundred and thirty-six, or 13.8 percent of the number to whom letters were sent, did not come in for the interview. Five hundred and eighty-nine reported that they were out of town; 427 made no response; and 178 letters were returned because of incorrect addresses. A few wrote that they were too busy or were not interested. In fifty-six cases a relative came to the local board or sent reports concerning the draftee. Nine men were on defense projects; one was detained by the police; ten were at sea; and four were "missing from home." One worker carried on considerable correspondence with a man who had gone to California and who was interested enough to ask for suggestions, which were sent to him, as to where he might get proper care there.

Not the least important part of the project has been the follow-up. At the end of the medical social worker's record of her interview was a place for her to state the approximate dates when follow-up might be started. For instance, some report on a man referred to a hospital for repair of a hernia might be expected in about three weeks. Letters were sent by the volunteer medical social worker at headquarters asking for reports from the doctors and clinics to which the rejectees had been directed. It was expected that answers would be forthcoming from clinics, but the response from private physicians and dentists has been excellent. In replying, many took the opportunity of stating their approval of the program. The report from one clinic not only gave details

of the treatment given the registrant, but explained that if he had not had care as promptly as he did, he would have doubtless become a chronic invalid in a short time.

Obtaining these reports necessarily has been slow, but the figures to date substantiate the belief that a real job has been done. Of a total of 388 men who have been followed up, 251, or 64 percent, have been rehabilitated; seventy-four are still under care; thirty did not seek treatment although they said they would; eighteen were unable to pay for the care needed; seven were not found; five went for an initial examination but did not return; and two were found to have left town. Follow-up on all the cases and analysis of the results await funds, and it is hoped that they will be forthcoming. Not only would data then be available in respect to types of disabilities, opportunities for treatment or the lack of them, but also the relation of available resources to economic situations. The material would have distinct implications as to the general health status of the nation since the men interviewed presented a more representative cross section of the population than is possible to obtain in clinic studies.

In addition to these data, there have been several less obvious results. As was expected, many men, both members of local boards and draftees, have come into contact with representatives of the social work profession and have found these workers not "meddlers and busybodies," but women with understanding and skill, with not only the desire, but also the ability to be helpful. At first, not every board welcomed the workers. Sometimes there was hardly enough room for the board clerk, and the addition of one person to the crowded place where the board met was a major problem. One letter to the Medical Director criticized a worker and suggested that the activities of "any outside agency" be curtailed. In reply, Colonel Kopetsky wrote that the medical workers were "not actually an 'outside agency.'" They "are co-operating with the Selective Service Administration and are doing their part to carry out what General Hershey desires." Before long, suspicion and veiled hostility gave way to the most friendly coöperation.

From the beginning the project had been known to General

Hershey, Surgeon-General Parran, and Paul McNutt, and commendatory letters had been received from each of them. Many reports came to the Medical Director, ranging from the enthusiastic appreciation from the chairman of a local board, himself a prominent social worker, to the grateful letter from another chairman, the manager of a business concern, who was making his first acquaintance with medical social workers.

The demonstration has continued for nine months and it has been hard to withstand the pressure from headquarters and the local boards, urging its continuance. While no new lists have been sent to the workers since the first of March, at the request of the board chairmen some of the volunteers are still interviewing men referred by the board. In other instances the registrant is being sent to headquarters, where the medical social worker doing the follow-up attempts to help him with his problem. This continued dependence upon the medical social workers is striking evidence of the usefulness of the project.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES FOR SERVICE MEN'S FAMILIES

By *HELEN R. JETER*

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES provide family allowances in addition to the regular pay of men in the armed forces? This question has been under serious discussion in the Federal Security Agency since the summer of 1940. As early as May, 1941, the Family Security Committee of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services recommended legislation for this purpose. Three bills embodying various principles have been introduced into the Congress. The first two were introduced on January 15 and on March 5 respectively; a third bill was introduced in both the House of Representatives and the Senate in identical form on April 20.¹ All these bills have been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and presumably some action will be taken by the Congress in the near future.²

The fundamental reason for a system of family allowances is that the majority of men in the armed forces of the United States, like those of most countries, are not paid wages or salaries commensurate either with the type of work that they perform or with their previous earning capacity and the standard of living to which their families have been accustomed.

During the first four months of service an enlisted man in the lowest rank, that is, the seventh grade, under present rates of

¹ H.R. 6390 (Edminston bill) January 15, 1942; S. 2343 (Taft bill) March 5, 1942; H.R. 6948 (Edminston bill) April 20, 1942; S. 2467 (Johnson and Lee bill) April 20, 1942.

² Subsequent to the presentation of this paper, S. 2467 was enacted as Public Law 625, approved by the President on June 23, 1942.

pay,³ receives only \$21 per month. After four months he receives \$30. Possible promotions from one grade to another may bring him to \$60 per month in the fourth grade and to \$126 in the first grade. A bill now before Congress,⁴ already passed by the Senate, increases seventh-grade pay to \$42 per month, fourth-grade to \$78 per month, first-grade to \$138. Even with these substantial increases, however, if the man in service has a wife and children it is certain that they cannot be maintained on the amount the man can send home or allot to them from the seventh-grade pay of \$42. It is unlikely that both the man in service and his wife and children at home can maintain a health and decency standard even on fourth-grade pay of \$78. Comfort is out of the question at both these levels.

The experience of the United States during the last war and the present experience of foreign countries indicate the need for immediate provision for dependents of Army and Navy personnel. Legislation for this purpose, including compulsory allotments from pay and allowances for dependents from the Federal funds, was enacted immediately after our entrance into the First World War. In the present war, legislation for dependents' allowance has been made effective in at least fifteen foreign countries.⁵

The importance of maintaining both civilian and military morale in the present national crisis cannot be overemphasized. A vital factor in upholding this morale is the maintenance of the economic status of families of men engaged in military service. The man in the armed forces must be free from anxiety about how his family is making ends meet when his own support has been withdrawn.

This principle has been fairly well accepted in theory. Moreover, it was assumed up to December 8, 1941, that very few men

³ May, 1942.

⁴ S. 2025, at the time it first passed the Senate in March, 1942, provided for the following increases in pay: seventh grade, \$42; sixth grade, \$48; fifth grade, \$60; fourth grade, \$78; Discussion in this paper is based upon these rates, although S. 2025 has since become law (Public Law 607, approved June 16, 1942), and the pay increases made effective by this recent legislation are: seventh grade, \$50; sixth grade, \$54; fifth grade, \$66; fourth grade, \$78.

⁵ Enumerated in Marianne Sakmann, "Foreign Provisions for the Dependents of Mobilized Men," *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. IV, April, 1941, No. 4.

inducted into service through the selective service system actually had dependents. Discharges also were granted to those whose family circumstances had changed after their induction or enlistment. During a single quarter of 1941, the American Red Cross reported that 51,000 claims of men seeking discharge for dependency reasons had been investigated. The Adjutant General's office of the War Department reported on December 10, 1941, that 40,178 men had been discharged by the Army because of age or dependency.

On December 10, 1941, however, the Adjutant General's office ordered that no further discharges should be granted for dependency. Releases from active military service to the reserves are now granted only in cases of extreme necessity in which the "evidence submitted clearly indicates that the release of the soldier is necessary to prevent or relieve destitution."

Prior to our entry into the war, the selective service system had been deferring a large proportion of men for dependency reasons, that is, classifying them as 3-A. As of January 31, 1942, the number of such deferments had reached 10,785,000, or 65 percent of the registrants classified in the first and second registrations. This significant proportion of deferments because of dependency was largely the result of the liberal interpretation of the definition of a "dependent" which the selective service system, through its rules and regulations, requested local selective service boards to follow. Although deferments for dependency are still granted, many of these earlier deferments probably will be revoked upon re-examination and the man will be classified in Class 1—available for service.

Notwithstanding the large proportion of registrants classified in Class 3-A, however, men with dependents were already serving in our armed forces prior to the enemy attack at Pearl Harbor. Some of these had been members of the National Guard; others had voluntarily enlisted; some had married after induction into service; some were men whose parents' circumstances had changed through death, illness, or other misfortune, leaving mothers and younger brothers and sisters dependent. Since no further discharges for dependency are to be granted, there will be an

inevitable increase in the number of such cases. In a peacetime army it was possible to avoid calling upon the services of men who were needed for the support of their families. In an all-out war such a policy becomes unthinkable. Even those persons who are usually first to support family unity discourage the continuation of the policy of deferments because of family dependency. They believe that a war cannot be fought by a democracy unless the selection of men for the armed forces is placed upon a democratic basis, without regard to economic status. Public policy demands that the wage of the soldier and sailor be adequate to support his dependents and that as a part of that wage an allowance be made to his family.

It is conventional to refer in brief to the "armed forces," which include men of all grades in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard of the United States and retired or reserve personnel in active military service. Plans for allotments and family allowances sometimes distinguish within the armed forces between commissioned officers and enlisted men. The term "enlisted men" includes selectees as well as voluntary enlistments and includes noncommissioned, but not commissioned, officers.

Enlisted men in both the Army and Navy are classified in seven salary grades with subclassifications within grades. The first six grades in the Army include noncommissioned officers, and the first four grades in the Navy include petty officers. Bills proposing family allowances now before Congress apply to enlisted men from the seventh through the fourth grade only, thus covering the men in the present pay grades of \$21 through \$60 (\$40 through \$78 in proposed legislation).

One of the vexing details of drafting legislation to provide family allowances for certain grades and not others is the probable effect on the man who is promoted from the highest grade in which allowances are granted into the lowest grade in which they are not granted. For example, under the recently introduced bill a sergeant receiving \$60 per month may be granted a family allowance for a wife and one child of \$30, or a total of \$90 per month family income. If he is promoted to staff sergeant, however, he loses the family allowance and his total family income is re-

duced from \$90 to \$72 per month. Although a reduction of this kind probably cannot be avoided, the higher the grade included in the allowance system the less will be the hardship caused by promotion. The Family Security Committee recommended that allowances be granted to all men below the rank of commissioned officer, thus including master sergeants, mates, and chief petty officers whose present basic pay is \$126 per month.

Two principles may govern the inclusion or exclusion of members of the man's family in the allowance: one, the degree of relationship; the other, the fact or degree of dependency. Various combinations of these two principles may be applied.

Most countries that grant family allowances limit such allowances to persons who stand to the man in a certain well-defined relationship.⁶ The range of the relationship, however, varies greatly. In some countries the list of eligible relatives is long, while in others it is fairly limited. In Great Britain, for example, the relatives eligible for allowances are the wife, children, parents, grandparents, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, and other dependents. In New Zealand allowances are confined to the wife, the children, the guardian of motherless children, and the dependent widowed mother. The Danish law extends eligibility to members of the family for whose maintenance the mobilized person is responsible.

Although many degrees of relationship may be specified, the application of the second principle, that of fact or degree of dependency, also may be introduced, and the relatives enumerated in the law thus may not be eligible for allowances on a basis of equality. In Great Britain, Canada, and Germany, for example, the wife and children receive allowances regardless of previous support, while other relatives are eligible only if the man was wholly or mainly responsible for their support prior to his military service. Moreover, in Great Britain, with the exception of cases in which a special war-service grant has been awarded, dependents other than wife and children receive no allowance if the wife or children are eligible, and an ordinary allowance is granted to only one dependent other than wife and children. In

⁶ All facts about foreign countries are quoted from Sakmann, *op. cit.*

Canada the receipt of an allowance by the wife or children does not disqualify other dependents, but allowances are paid to not more than three dependents on behalf of any one man. The French law grants only one basic allowance to any group or persons whom the man supported; in claiming the allowance, wives have priority over children, children over parents, and parents over other members of the family.

The Family Security Committee on May 15, 1941, recommended that a family allowance be granted to the wife and to children under eighteen, according to a fixed scale, without a means test and without verification of relationship other than affidavit or documents furnished by the applicant. This recommendation was based on the committee's fundamental belief that an allowance for the immediate family of a man in the armed forces should be considered as a part of the man's pay and, therefore, should be no more subject to investigation than the wage or salary he might receive in private industry. This principle has been followed in the proposals of the bills most recently introduced (H.R. 6948 and S. 2467) in relation to allowances for wife, children, and divorced wife.

The Family Security Committee further recommended that the man's parents be placed in the same classification and receive an allowance without a means test, but specified that such an allowance should be granted only upon application by the man in service. The bills now before Congress provide for allowances to parents only if they are in fact dependent upon the man for chief support. These bills also include grandchildren and brothers and sisters on the same basis, that is, if in fact dependent upon the man for chief support.

The argument usually advanced against including parents in the primary allowance group without a means test is that many parents are not dependent, may not be in need of assistance, and will in actual practice add their allowances to the man's own pay. The Family Security Committee believed that the requirement that the man himself make application for an allowance for a parent might be a sufficient check on wasteful expenditure, but the bills now before the Congress require establishment of the

fact of the parent's dependency upon the man for chief support. Whether such facts can be established merely by affidavit or whether a family investigation will be required is not stated in the present bills.

It seems to be generally agreed in the United States and supported by British experience that family allowances to a primary group of relatives should be administered automatically, according to a fixed scale, and without a means test. How broadly or how narrowly this primary group is to be defined determines to some extent whether there shall be a secondary group to whom allowances will be granted on some more restricted basis, such as the fact of previous support or the fact of present need.

The bills recently introduced into Congress provide in effect for three classes under two titles: Title I, Class A, the wife and children under eighteen without regard to circumstances; Title I, Class B, parents, grandparents, grandchildren, and brothers and sisters if in fact dependent for chief support, and Title II persons chiefly supported prior to induction into military service.⁷ These may be persons standing in any degree of relationship to the man, or need not be relatives at all. In Title II are also included the Class A beneficiaries for assistance that may be needed in addition to the fixed amounts granted under Title I.

Title II uses the words "needy dependents." Presumably it is intended that rules and regulations for the definition and determination of need will be established under the general terms of the law by the administrative agency.

This title does not mention the word "services," although it may be assumed that social services incidental to the payment of dependents' assistance would not be outside the authority of the agency administering the assistance. The Family Security Committee has specifically recommended that "services to any dependents of a member of the armed forces" be provided in connection with a plan for allotments and allowances.

Most plans for family allowances to men in the armed forces provide in some way for a required allotment from the man's pay. This requirement is doubtless based upon the belief that the

⁷ Title II was omitted from the bill as finally passed (Public Law 625).

man should make some sacrifice on behalf of his family that is not made by men without dependents. It is also of considerable value in the administration of the plan since the fact of allotment from pay by the man tends to establish the claims of dependents.

The recently introduced bills provide for a deduction of \$20 from the pay of any man for whom a Class A or Class B allowance is to be paid and for \$25 from the pay of a man for whom both Class A and Class B allowances are to be paid. These amounts are paid to the man's dependents in addition to the allowances provided for. It is probable that the drafters of these bills expect that the Congress will enact the proposed legislation for increase in basic pay from \$21 to \$42, which has in fact passed the Senate. Otherwise, the deduction of \$20 or \$25 would be not only unreasonable but impossible in some cases.

The ease in administering a fixed deduction rather than a percentage deduction from the man's pay is obvious. On the other hand, deduction of \$25 from the monthly pay of \$42 per month is severe. The Family Security Committee recommended that required allotments should not exceed one-half the man's pay.

The recent bills provide that monthly allowances are to be paid to such persons as the enlisted may designate, but if he fails to designate and if it is shown that he has a wife or children or if he is chiefly responsible for the support of parents, grandchildren, brothers or sisters, then the administering agency will authorize allowances to these persons.⁸ If allowances are authorized, pay deductions will be made. In other words, under these proposals, both allotments and allowances are compulsory for wife and children and for dependent parents, grandchildren, and brothers and sisters.

For all other relatives, or for nonrelatives whom the man has previously supported, allotments are voluntary. These voluntary allotments are a condition for the payment of allowances to this additional group, however. Thus it would be impossible to grant dependents' assistance (under Title II) to persons for whom the man was unwilling to allot part of his pay. These proposals are

⁸ Public Law 625 as enacted, however, provides that Class B allowances shall be discontinued at the man's request.

consistent with the principles recommended by the Family Security Committee.

The amounts proposed for the family in the two recent bills are a combination of the allotment from the man's pay and the additional allowance to be paid by the Federal Government. Under the bills recently introduced the following monthly amounts would be granted:⁹

	<i>Allowance</i>	<i>Allotment</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Class A</i>			
Wife, no child	\$20	\$20	\$40
Wife and one child	30	20	50
Wife and two children	40	20	60
Each additional child	10		
One child, no wife	15	20	35
Two children, no wife	25	20	45
Each additional child	10		
Former wife, divorced	20	20	40
<i>Class B</i>			
One parent	15	20 or 5	35 or 20
Two parents	25	20 or 5	45 or 30
Each grandchild, brother, sister, additional parent	5	20 or 5	25 or 10

The maximum monthly allowance that may be paid to parents, grandchildren, brothers, and sisters combined may not exceed \$50. If there are so many relatives eligible to Class B allowances that the combined allowance would exceed \$50, this amount is to be apportioned among them. Since it would take two dependent parents and five dependent brothers and sisters, or one dependent parent and seven dependent brothers and sis-

⁹ Under the legislation enacted, \$22 per month is deductible from the man's pay if he has dependents for whom the Government makes a contribution; an additional \$5, or a total of \$27, will be deducted if the man has both Class A and Class B dependents. The monthly allowances to be contributed by the Government to Class A dependents are: wife, no child, \$28; wife, one child, \$40, two children, \$50 (each additional child \$10); one child, no wife, \$20; two children, no wife, \$30 (each additional child \$10); divorced wife (in addition to other Class A dependents), \$20. Contributions to Class B dependents will be: one parent, \$15 (each grandchild, brother, or sister in addition, \$5); two parents, \$25 (each grandchild, brother, or sister in addition, \$5); no parent, each grandchild, brother, or sister, \$5.

ters, to reach the \$50 maximum, however, it is probable that apportionment will be unnecessary in most cases.

When there are no Class A relatives, the Class B relatives will receive the \$20 allotment. Thus, if a man has no wife or children, his two dependent parents may receive as much as \$45 per month. If the parents are additional to wife or children, however, they will receive only \$30 per month.

One interesting question is whether these amounts, particularly for wife and children, are sufficient to maintain them without recourse to relief or public assistance. In the absence of illness, educational needs, or other special problems it is probable that the standard proposed in this bill is above the general relief standard in most communities. A wife with two children under the proposed bill would receive \$60 a month. If payments for aid to dependent children were made from Federal, state, and local funds under the Social Security Act, however, and if it were possible for such a family to receive from the man in service an amount equal to the required allotment, the total income received by this family might equal \$62 rather than \$60. Moreover, a man in the seventh grade, his wife, and two children would receive a combined income of only \$82, while under the Canadian system of dependents' allowances a similar family receives \$99. Thus the proposed standard for Title I is not only below that previously established for families separated by death or other loss of parental support under the Social Security Act, it is below the Canadian standard for pay and dependents' allowances, and it is probably also below the standard that might be provided in a large proportion of cases in ordinary employment.

For an aged parent, in cases in which the man has no wife or child, the proposed allotments and allowances are somewhat above the average old age assistance payment in most states, but if the man has a wife or child the parent aged sixty-five or more would fare better on old age assistance in about half the states.

If the man is responsible for the support of one younger brother or sister, and no one else, that brother or sister may receive \$25 per month. If the man has a wife or child, however, the

brother or sister could receive only \$10 under Title I. Whether these amounts will be adequate enough to obviate the need for applying for other types of assistance depends largely upon the age and educational and living arrangements of the brother or sister.

For inadequacies of allowances under Title I, the provisions of Title II for "dependents' assistance" apply. That is, the automatic fixed grant may be augmented under Title II on the basis of need and presumably this title would be administered on a budget deficiency basis.

Since the maintenance of the armed forces is a Federal responsibility, it may be assumed that the comfort of the family of the man in service is also a Federal responsibility and should not become a burden upon state or local governments or upon private philanthropy. The bills now before Congress provide for complete Federal financing.

Since there is general agreement that allowances to the primary group of dependents should be compulsory, automatic, paid according to a fixed scale, and without a means test, the question arises as to what kind of agency should administer such a plan. This is not public assistance or relief. In a large proportion of families the persons who receive allowances will be quite able to make their own arrangements for living. Only in exceptional cases of illness or emergency will they need social services. Moreover, according to the most generally accepted theory, this is a plan for wages for service in the armed forces, and allowances are dependent upon deductions from the man's pay. Hence logic lies in the direction of administration by the War and Navy Departments themselves. Since separate pay-roll procedures are now maintained by the Army and Navy, it is logical to expect separate administration of allotments and allowances by the two departments. This is contemplated in Title I of the bills recently introduced into Congress.

No one doubts that it is within the capacity of the War and Navy Departments to set up an efficient method of payment so that checks will reach the recipients promptly and regularly each

month.¹⁰ Whether the branches of the Government that are charged with winning the war should be relieved of such a responsibility by a civilian agency is another question. The experience of the First World War, in which this kind of administration was placed in the Treasury Department, points to the need for reducing the amount of paper clearance between two agencies and strengthens the belief in some minds that the administration can be handled more efficiently by the agency that handles the pay roll for the armed forces.

The question of joint Army and Navy administration has been raised. Moreover, since the bills recently introduced propose that administration of Title II be placed under the Federal Security Agency, the possibility of a joint policy board between the Army, the Navy, and the Federal Security Administrator, and possibly the selective service system, has been suggested also.¹¹

Title II provides that in administering dependents' assistance the Federal Security Administrator may make cooperative working arrangements with other Federal agencies or with state and local agencies. He may also delegate authority to the officers and employees of the constituent units of the Federal Security Agency. This provision contemplates, through the expenditure of Federal funds, the full utilization of the services and facilities of existing public agencies that are experienced in investigating the facts of dependency, and in determining the amount and kind of special need presented by the applicant. This administrative method has three distinct advantages:

1. It will not require the setting up of new agencies and the recruitment and training of new personnel.
2. It will provide for flexibility, allowing a choice of operative agencies based on their capacity to perform. The importance to the war effort of a flexible system cannot be overestimated. It can be quickly adapted to changing needs and allows delegated authority to be revoked immediately if performance is substandard.
3. It will bring greater coherence to the welfare programs of

¹⁰ The British system provides an ingenious arrangement for a book of weekly drafts which the wife secures from the post office and cashes each week in advance.

¹¹ This provision of the bill was not passed.

the nation. Applicants for assistance will find that all their problems can be dealt with by one agency or one assistance worker. It will cut down the referrals from agency to agency. Many of the local agencies that will be utilized in carrying out this part of the program already have operating relationships with the local selective service boards and are utilized by these boards in the investigation of dependency claims.

There is considerable necessity, however, for making provision for uniform and consistent administrative interpretation of all parts of this legislation. Many families have sons in both the Army and the Navy, or perhaps the family across the street has a son in another branch of the armed services. Dissatisfaction on the score of unequal treatment may have serious effects upon national morale.

A great many procedural matters will have to be settled by law or regulations. One of the more important of such matters is the method of determining the fact of dependency in the case of parents, grandchildren, and brothers and sisters. The present bills admit the possibility of four different administrative determinations as to the dependent status of a single relative—by the Army, the Navy, the Federal Security Agency, and the selective service system. Four departments charged with administering laws that concern dependency in relation to required military service should make sure that they are operating upon a uniform standard and are not duplicating investigations of facts already established by another public agency. A provision in the law establishing a joint policy board to consist of the heads of the departments responsible for the administration would be useful in this connection. The duties suggested for such a joint policy board include: (1) formulating basic operating policies; (2) establishing procedures to make available to the operating agencies and bureaus all essential records and information in the possession of any agency or department of the Government; and (3) making coöperative arrangements for the full utilization of the existing services and facilities of the appropriate constituent units of each of the departments concerned.

For purposes of the administration of Title II of the present

bill, such a policy board would be of inestimable value. This is apparent from the fact that the fundamental purpose of Title II is to supplement Title I in cases of unusual distress. Its effectiveness will be in large measure dependent upon the availability and currency of Army and Navy lists of recipients of family allowances and upon information as to dependency contained in the files of the selective service system.

It is to be hoped that legislation for family allowances for men in the armed forces will be enacted immediately. Controversial issues will doubtless revolve about the number and type of administering agencies, the question of centralization or decentralization in disbursement procedure, the method of determining the fact of dependency, the criterion of chief support, the question of supplementary allowances, and the means test. The trend in other countries has been toward separation of the allowance system from the relief system. The British plan, which from the beginning provided allowances to the wife and children regardless of need, but established a household means test for other dependents to whom the man made substantial contribution, has recently abandoned the household test in favor of individual determination of need in these supplementary cases. The liberal financial provisions of the Canadian law, the simplicity of the British disbursement of automatic allowances through the post office, and the British combination of fixed-scale allowances with supplementary assistance for special needs are worth consideration for an American plan. Above all, family allowances should reach the wife and children of the man in service regularly, promptly, and with a minimum of correspondence, inquiry, and debate.

IMPACTS OF THE WAR UPON THE SOCIAL SERVICES

By *DONALD S. HOWARD*

WAR CANNOT BE SAID to result in any single impact upon public social services. There is, rather, a wide variety of impacts, some affecting social services in one way and some in diametrically opposite ways. The effects of these various impacts are determined, not only by the nature of the forces themselves, but by the characteristics of the social services affected. The result of any given impact upon any one welfare program, therefore, will vary with the type of people served, the geographical area covered, and the adequacy of the service previously rendered. For example, the effect of an unprecedented increase in employment could not be expected to have the same effect upon a general relief program limited to unemployable persons as it would have upon the program of the Work Projects Administration. Similarly, one could not expect the effect upon even a single program (like that of the WPA) in one of those six states in which nonagricultural employment in 1941 increased by about 20 percent to be the same as that which would occur in a state where the increase was less than 5 percent. Finally, whether increased employment (or any other factor) can result in reductions in a given social service will depend upon whether that service was previously adequate to the demands upon it. If not, any reductions in need that might occur, might only make room for people who had previously been unable to receive needed services because they were too far down on the list. For example, even though the number of families receiving aid to dependent children may be reduced because either mothers or older children

find jobs, one cannot expect immediate cuts in a state like Florida where some applications filed two years ago still have not been investigated.

All that may be said of adequacy of coverage as a determinant of the effect of any given impact may be said also about the adequacy of the provision made. Thus one cannot expect reductions in relief rolls to have the same effect upon relief expenditures in two different areas if, in one locality, allowances previously given were only half enough to meet the need while those in the other were regarded as "adequate." Obviously, in the first instance total expenditures might well be continued at the earlier level in order to provide more nearly adequate aid for the smaller number of families assisted.

Impacts upon the social services are not only extremely varied, but are most difficult to measure accurately. One must, in the first place, distinguish cause from effect. One must know, for example, that WPA employment today does not necessarily represent the need for WPA employment today—it is likely that a million more jobs would be necessary to meet existing needs on the basis of current eligibility requirements—but rather what the WPA and Congress some eighteen months ago guessed these needs might be.

Measurement of the effect of forces playing upon social services is also complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing the result of one force from that of another. Increases or decreases in insanity, for instance, are often measured in terms of admissions to hospitals for the mentally ill; crime, in terms of numbers of arrests; and juvenile delinquency, in terms of commitments. When it is recalled that the construction of needed institutions may be sharply curtailed in time of war, it is obvious that it would be risky to surmise that insanity had decreased merely because there might be fewer commitments. An increase in commitments to institutions for delinquents may be due, not to an actual increase in delinquency, but to the fact that an experienced probation officer may have gone into war work and has been replaced by a less qualified worker who more freely recommends commitments.

Some effects of the war have already appeared but have not as yet been observed by the community: increased truancy; greater

disruption of family life; mounting pressures and tensions among young people. Communities will do well to remember that what they do not know may hurt them.

Eight of the factors which influence public welfare and social service programs are:

1. *Unprecedented levels of employment and industrial production.*—These employment and production levels have resulted in:

a) *Sharp reductions in the apparent need for certain types of services.*—Transfers to jobs have resulted in reductions, not only of the WPA and general relief programs, but also in the numbers of families given or applying for aid to dependent children and old age assistance. Aged persons who have received old age assistance one month, in some areas, have earned as much as fifty dollars a week the following month. In families receiving aid to dependent children either the mother or an older child may find a job. In a number of areas even recipients of aid to the blind and others who have been classed as unemployable have been able to find work. These increases in employment have not, unfortunately, been uniformly spread over the country, and the extent to which welfare programs have been reduced as a result of increased employment depends upon the section of the country the program serves. The significance of this is clearly apparent in the estimate made by one Federal agency that approximately half of the increase in war production during 1942 is expected to take place in only about six of the most important industrial states.

b) *Demands for reductions of social services.*—The unprecedented increase in industrial production has led many people to expect even greater reductions in social services than have been made. One national organization representing taxpayers estimated some time ago that unemployment would be completely liquidated by January, 1942, and proposed a number of sharp curtailments in public social services. Unfortunately, their estimate was incorrect. Instead of total employment in January, 1942, some three million workers were still without jobs despite the prevailing level of production. Had public social services been geared to the liquidation of unemployment early this year, rather

than to more realistic estimates of needs, they would have proved even more inadequate than they already were.

c) *Difficulties in finding good foster homes.*—From many sections of the country it is reported that child welfare programs are being handicapped by the increasing scarcity of foster homes. This scarcity is attributed in part to the fact that foster homes are being broken up as one member or another takes a job in a war industry or leaves to serve in the armed forces. A further factor appears to be that these families, like others in the community, may be receiving higher wages than they had previously earned and therefore no longer need the extra money they might earn by taking foster children into their homes.

d) *Drives against standards of labor legislation.*—Special legislation has already been enacted in New York State to permit the Commissioner of Labor to exempt certain employers from maintaining legally prescribed conditions of work for women if such an exemption is regarded as necessary to the war effort. In New Jersey there is a determined drive against the state's child labor law. One of the confusing aspects of these drives against labor standards is the way in which they have been related to the nation's war needs. In New Jersey, for example, it is said that children are needed in the fields to produce food which is needed because of the war. It is also said that children are needed as pin boys in bowling alleys at night because the President has said that recreation is important to the defense effort and because many defense workers are free only at night to engage in recreational activity. "Therefore," say those who want to undermine existing child labor standards, "allow pin boys to work late at night and help to win the war." Frequently claims of this kind are advanced without satisfactory evidence that the labor of children or of women is really essential and that the need cannot be met by giving jobs to Negroes, or to aliens, or to others who have not been given a part in the war program.

e) *Necessity and possibility of better case work.*—The very fact that mothers of dependent children are able to secure jobs outside their homes makes it necessary for social workers to point out the many social considerations which are involved. Unlike their

experience during the depression, when every effort was made to "get families off relief," social workers now find themselves in the position of trying to help mothers to see whether the best interests both of their families and of the community might not be served by their continuing to receive aid to dependent children and continuing to care for their own families rather than by accepting employment outside their homes.

Similarly, relatively large earnings and "easy money" give rise to numerous social problems. Social workers in various communities have reported that the experience of having relatively large sums of money has led some youths and older workers alike to go on "busts," or to remain away from home.

At least two factors make it easier to do better case work. The very likelihood of finding employment for those who need it is said to enhance perceptibly the possibilities of doing constructive case work and probation and parole work. Potential employees who formerly were viewed with suspicion by possible employers are now welcomed.

With reductions in the number of persons served by relief and welfare programs, some agencies have reduced individual case-loads, thus making it possible to give increased service to the fewer families for whom they have responsibility. One cannot but wonder whether workers who are thus freed for greater service are capable of meeting the needs which are suddenly thrust upon them, inasmuch as examinations and methods of selection have not always been geared to the recruitment of personnel possessing the qualifications or experience necessary in rendering service of this type.

f) Personnel shortages and staff turnover.—Because of more lucrative offers, social workers in various sections of the country have left the welfare field. This is particularly true, of course, where salaries paid by social service agencies are low. Because of this loss of workers and because new social services that are being established make demands upon such personnel as is available, it was recently estimated that on a given day the public welfare departments of the country had immediate need for some fifteen hundred professional workers to fill existing vacancies. Another

fifteen hundred workers were needed, it was thought, to fill imminent vacancies.

g) *New hope of conquering unemployment.*—To an increasing number of observers it appears hopeful that the virtual liquidation of unemployment which has been achieved as a by-product of the war effort can surely be continued planfully after the war. This hope, together with the realization of the importance of the job to the individual, has led increasing numbers to take up the cry, "Maintenance is not enough!" There is an increasing reluctance to think of the future in terms of the decade when millions of potential workers were maintained in idleness. We have seen mass unemployment go. We are determined it shall never return.

2. *Actual or threatened unemployment arising from shortages of materials or labor or curtailments of service.*—An impact from the opposite direction is the likelihood of unemployment as first one raw material and then another runs out or is diverted to other uses. Change-overs and priorities have already resulted in serious unemployment in various parts of the country, and new shortages and new uses of materials or labor may easily result in new unemployment. Curtailment of services which as yet have not been threatened may also bring their toll as the war effort progresses.

3. *Fears resulting from tremendous increases in Federal expenditures.*—Fears lest Federal tax rates and expenditures may jeopardize the national economy have given rise to new demands for curtailment of social services. While these cries frequently specify reductions in "unnecessary" services, it is noteworthy that social services loom large in any list of those to be cut. Other considerations, however, exert a countereffect, helping to maintain social services in the face of these heightened demands for their curtailment.

A second fear resulting from tremendous Federal expenditures is the fear of inflation. To guard against this danger it is suggested that social services be organized or financed in such a way as to have a deflationary effect. Those who are really interested in the protection of the nation's social services regard with suspicion any effort to tie them to the tail of any kite symbolizing

the fiscal policy which happens to be in vogue at any particular moment.

Now that inflation is no longer a desideratum we see that the attempt during the depression to sell a work program on the ground that it would have an inflationary effect is proving to be a boomerang. Since we no longer need inflation, the argument goes, people who have no other jobs should not be given employment by the Government. This means, in effect, that one group of the population would be deprived of work in order to help guard the nation as a whole against inflation.

To many observers it appears that the wide variety of devices available to safeguard the country against inflation should be put into effect so as to apply fairly to all elements of the population rather than to ask any one group to give up something which is as important to them as employment. Just as those who favor work programs are now embarrassed by the extent to which these were touted as devices to stimulate economic recovery, so also the future may prove that efforts now being made to relate welfare services to deflation may, when deflation is no longer desired, embarrass those who still want to have continued the social services in question.

While the tremendous expenditures that are now being made for the war lead certain elements of the population to demand that social services be cut to the bone, their very magnitude has also the opposite effect of making the relatively small amounts spent for social services look even smaller in comparison with the mountainous sums being expended for the war.

4. *Reductions in state and local revenues.*—While curtailment of social services financed from Federal funds is urged on the ground that the money is needed for other purposes, curtailment of services financed from state and local funds is being urged in many quarters on the ground that the necessary funds simply are not available. States and localities which formerly received considerable revenue from sales of such articles as refrigerators, automobiles, and tires, are experiencing sharp reductions in monies obtainable from these sources. Similarly, with curtailment of automobile travel, revenues from gasoline taxes are falling off.

Fear of what may happen to horse racing also threatens reductions in revenue which in some areas constitutes an important source of funds for welfare services. Dock rentals and land taxes have been sharply reduced in areas where shipping has fallen off and where the Navy and Army have taken over, not only dock facilities, but buildings and land previously subject to taxation.

5. *Increases in prices and costs of living.*—Increases in rent are said to have an important bearing upon social welfare services in almost every section of the country. In at least one instance a welfare agency reports that it attempted to move families away from town and into rural communities in an effort to find housing commensurate with their needs and resources. One agency reports an increased use of institutions for the housing of adults and children. In the absence of better provision, children have even been placed in detention homes. In one locality, it is reported, landlords have adopted a policy of eviction of, or denial of houses to, large families, knowing that the same amount of rent can be secured from small families, with less wear and tear on property.

General increases in costs of living of some 20 to 25 percent in the past year have made relief budgets just that much more inadequate. In some instances, however, budgets have been raised to offset in some degree the increased living cost. This has been true in the WPA, which has authorized an increase of \$5.20 a month in the wages of all but professional and technical workers and an increase of \$3.90 a month for them. The devaluation of the dollar has contributed to many difficulties in institutional operation, where per diem charges for hospital and institutional care have been fixed by law, with the result that receipts fall short of paying for actual costs. This obviously means a shifting of the burden to the operating agency and a relative lessening of the burden upon the contributor. In some instances, fixed payments for foster home care of children have contributed to a decrease in the number of foster homes available, inasmuch as the work and responsibilities involved were no longer thought to be worth the trouble.

It has been reported that increased farm prices have relieved

conditions among farm families, necessitating less service from the Farm Security Administration. Improved farm conditions have also stimulated private lending to farmers, thus lessening the need for public lending programs.

6. *Shortages of materials and facilities.*—Material shortages necessarily hold up the building of much-needed institutions and facilities. Waiting lists of those needing institutional care will remain long and grow longer. The shortage of materials will undoubtedly be raised as an argument against maintenance of work programs inasmuch as these often require the use of strategic materials.

Reductions in farm surpluses may be expected to have a tragic effect upon relief programs which rely heavily upon Federal surplus commodities. Any decline in the volume or variety of commodities available will, of course, have an immeasurably drastic effect upon families in areas where, as in the South, there is almost no general relief. The already deplorable provision of "surplus commodities only" may be followed by serious destitution should the supply of commodities be restricted.

The effect of material shortages is also likely to be seriously felt on WPA sewing projects which are already experiencing difficulties in securing various kinds of goods needed for their production of clothing which is distributed to families in need. The disastrous effects likely to follow this curtailment are immediately apparent when it is recalled that relief and welfare agencies in practically all sections of the country rely heavily, and in many instances exclusively, for their supplies of clothing upon products of WPA sewing rooms.

Necessary curtailments in travel because of crowded transportation facilities and because of gasoline and tire rationing will have an inevitable effect upon welfare programs. Supervision by field officers will probably be relaxed. Visiting of families and investigation of applicants will have to be curtailed. Conferences of staff workers and administrators with a view to coördinating various social services or to improving the quality of existing programs may also prove a casualty of the war.

7. *Overwhelming sense of the importance of preserving and*

furthering social values necessary to, or jeopardized by, the war effort.—Among the values previously overlooked but now seen to be all-important may be noted health, recreation, fair treatment of labor, and family solidarity. Health that was previously neglected suddenly becomes important. Work in the field of nutrition has taken a new lease on life. New provision has been made for the correction of physical disabilities of men rejected by selective service boards. Recreation facilities—often constructed at Federal expense—have been increased and programs have been expanded. Unemployment benefits have been liberalized so that workers affected by change-overs will be less likely to move to some place where they could be employed immediately.

Safeguarding family solidarity, selective service boards have tried to prevent undue breaking up of family units. A further protective device is the Administration's proposal of legislation for providing a system of allowances and allotments to the dependents of service men. To protect Japanese who have been forced to evacuate our coastal areas, the Federal Government has established a civil authority to provide transportation, housing, maintenance, and employment. To those who need it, financial assistance is also available.

Although much has been done to preserve human values jeopardized by, or needed for, the war, much still remains undone. How much, is indicated by the fact that in 1941 more time was lost from war production on account of sickness than as a result of strikes. One cannot but wonder whether this country's provision for the health of its workers will make it possible to say of this nation what Margaret Bondfield said of hers: ". . . the health of the workers has improved notwithstanding the heavy strain of continuous application to work."

In reviewing steps which have already been taken to preserve and advance human values needed in, or jeopardized by, the war effort, three significant factors may be noted:

a) *Less taking of advantage.*—Social services important to the war effort are less likely than are other services to be dispensed unwillingly, strictly on the basis of financial need. What is important is to get services to the people who need them. The idea

is not—as relief officials particularly have seemed to think it was—to do everything possible to avoid giving needed help. We really want the selective service rejectee to have his teeth fixed, or to undergo a necessary operation.

Should this country suffer an “incident” and numbers of families be thrown into need by some sort of enemy action we would doubtless see even more services made available on a respectable and nondeterrent basis. Vast improvements in the administration of Britain’s social services have been attributed to the fact that they now reach not only the poor and the disadvantaged, but the middle class and the well-to-do as well. Bombed-out families, whether from the tenements or from the homes of the wealthy, fall into the same lines in order to receive assistance, once the bombers have passed over. The same industrial welfare programs that serve disadvantaged working girls also serve upperclass women brought into industry by the mobilization of woman power. When the base of any social service is thus widened to include all elements of a people there is bound to be less advantage taken of everyone. And this is not something that will pass with the war. When victory is won there will be in this country millions of young men who were called upon to risk everything. They will not let themselves be imposed upon. Neither will that vaster industrial army which may suddenly find itself faced with unemployment and insecurity.

b) More categories.—Such gains in the expansion of social services as have been realized because of the war have clearly been achieved on a categorical basis. New advances, still to be realized, will doubtless be made in the same way. New additions to the family of categories include selective service rejectees needing medical or dental care; Japanese (whether enemy aliens or American-born citizens of the United States) compelled to leave strategic areas; and Class A and Class B (immediate and more distant) relatives of soldiers for whom allowances are thought to be needed. What meaning these new and thinly sliced categories will hold for the ultimate development of broad welfare programs to take care of any kind of need, regardless of cause, only the future can show.

c) Increasingly important role of the Federal Government.— As would be expected in time of war, the Federal Government has been called upon to assume increasingly heavy responsibilities for health and welfare services. There have been, for example, Federal funds for the physical rehabilitation of selective service rejectees; Federal funds for health, education, and recreation facilities; federalization of the public employment service; increased demands for federalization of unemployment compensation schemes and for Federal funds for allowances to dependents of service men. That this trend toward increased Federal responsibility will not pass with the war is apparent when one recalls the demands veterans have made and have been granted in the past—and the unprecedented number of veterans there will be at the close of this war. In Great Britain, as late as 1934, nationalization of unemployment assistance was defended, in part, on the ground that industrial dislocations incident to the First World War had been responsible for much of the economic disruption which was still troubling the country.

Despite the increased emphasis placed upon central authorities in time of war, there is also a significant countermovement emphasizing the importance of local selective service boards and local rationing boards. What is more, various observers urge that larger responsibility for social service programs should be given to state and local authorities who are thought to be somewhat less involved in the prosecution of the war, since the Federal Government has its hands full running the war and since it might be more likely than other levels of government to lose sight of human and social values, civil rights and liberties, which might be easily overlooked in an all-out drive to victory.

8. *Universal desire to do everything possible to win the war.—* It was a desire to do what he could to help win the war which led an ancient bootblack in a large Southern hotel to refuse gratuities from soldiers and sailors who used the washroom of which he was in charge. This same intensity of desire to help our nation's cause not only increases the tempo of our personal and professional lives, but also heightens anxiety with respect to our own future and that of members of our families who may be

drawn into the armed forces or compelled to move away in order to take work somewhere else.

Although the times appear to have given rise to many factors affecting morale adversely, they have also brought positive gains. The immensity of the war program offers practically everyone an important role. In one Eastern city 125 recipients of old age assistance have signed up as air wardens. The result has been a marked pickup in their morale. In one area, mothers in families receiving aid to dependent children found great satisfaction in first-aid courses. When one realizes that so simple a matter as taking a first-aid course improves a mother's morale, one cannot but wonder what type of case work service had previously been available, if it had not helped them to see the social significance of their caring for their own families.

Social workers, no less than their clients, have been affected by the universal and irresistible desire to do everything possible to help win the war. This interest is sometimes diverted into service as air-raid wardens, auxiliary firemen, or auxiliary police, although such work does not necessarily require the particular skills possessed by social workers. There are other volunteer efforts, on the other hand, which do require all the special qualifications which social workers boast. There is, for example, the manning of emergency stations. Social workers who volunteer for jobs which require their special skills sometimes work under the auspices of their own agencies, sometimes under the auspices of some other agency. In the latter case, one agency may find itself immobilized in time of emergency simply because its workers are serving under some other authority. This problem is a cause of grave concern to heads of agencies who feel that their programs, in case of emergency, will be as important as any other.

Social agencies, like social workers, have not escaped this urge to do something specific to help win the war. Although some may realize that continuing their own work is important to the war effort, other agencies are uneasy because no additional services have been added to their programs. One county welfare agency, given \$10,000 for emergency expenditures, was not called upon to render any new wartime service. Unable to stand its subordi-

nate role any longer, the agency embarked upon the establishment of the blood bank in that community.

Because of the widespread interest of all groups in the community in promoting the war effort, social agencies face an unprecedented opportunity for enlisting volunteers who can help in the administration of agency programs. In view of all that has been said about the importance of interpreting social service programs to the community, this possibility of drawing volunteers into social service programs presents an unparalleled challenge to point out and define jobs that can be performed constructively by volunteers. This means, of course, that agencies are also confronted with the responsibility of defining clearly and interpreting the nature of work which can be done only with professionally qualified personnel. In so far as paid staff members are not available for such jobs, agencies will need to find professionally qualified volunteers to fill them.

General interest in doing what can be done to help win the war gives rise to increased need for social planning. It is strange indeed that it took a war to bring together some of our Federal, state, and local agencies and to help them see the need for coordinating their respective programs. Newly formed alliances between various agencies and between agencies at different levels of government are shotgun weddings in the truest sense. Need for planning is heightened by an increase in the number of agencies available to meet various types of new as well as older needs, and by an increase in needs which seem to grow more rapidly than the resources to meet them.

A further factor which at the same time complicates social planning and augments the need for it is the shift in responsibility for meeting various health and welfare needs. Whereas this responsibility once rested almost wholly upon social and welfare agencies which were more or less free to develop whatever plans they chose, in many areas it now rests also upon defense councils. In at least one state, defense councils have power to dictate what agency is to do what to meet existing needs. In other areas defense councils must rely upon the voluntary coöperation of the agencies concerned. The present catch-as-catch-can methods of ascertain-

ing community needs and of allocating responsibility for the meeting of those needs clearly indicate the necessity for more careful planning. In contrast with the local nature of such planning as is being done in this country, it is noteworthy that in Great Britain industrial welfare officers who are representatives of the central government have authority at the local level of government to provide such housing, medical care, recreation, and feeding measures as are required. It is questionable whether any highly centralized planning device is indicated for this country at the moment. However, it seems clear that better methods of allocating available resources to needs must be developed.

The very intensity of people's interest in helping to win the war not only represents a factor making for more adequate social services, but also represents a potential danger. It seems to make it easy to overlook need that is not in a uniform. In one important defense area an outstanding community leader recently called attention to the wild scramble on the part of various community organizations to provide recreational activities for soldiers and sailors. This eagerness to serve men in uniform led many organizations to overlook less spectacular needs which were slowly but gradually increasing. There was, for instance, a great need for more anti-truancy work than was being done and a need for more and better-qualified probation officers in the juvenile court. These needs went unmet, however, because the community leaders failed to see that not all present-day demands for service are confined to men in the service.

No less keen is the interest in helping to hold the peace for all the people of the world once the war is won. When it is no longer necessary for the United States to share its resources with other nations by sending tanks, gasoline, and planes, it is difficult to see how this country can refuse to share its peacetime resources. As millions of Chinese and Russians return to their scorched earth what justification can there be for refusing to send what is needed to house, clothe, and feed these people to whom we once sent guns and bombs and cannon?

Years ago a British preacher declared, "The world is my par-

ish." Those interested in American social services are evidencing increased interest in the possibility of using the resources of wealthier nations to help meet the future needs of men, women, and children everywhere—even in what are today enemy nations. The world, they are saying in ever increasing numbers, is their parish, too.

MEETING ECONOMIC NEED AS RELATED TO INSURANCE ELIGIBILITY

By *ARTHUR P. MILES*

BEFORE DISCUSSING the significance of the determination of eligibility¹ for social insurance, it seems logical first to have an understanding of the term "social insurance." In other words, what is meant by social insurance and what is the relationship between that term and public assistance?

Popularly, public assistance is thought of as those services described as such in the Social Security Act, and social insurance is identified as the social insurance categories of the act. Such descriptive definitions are useful, but also inherently dangerous. If social insurance means the insurance programs of the Social Security Act and nothing more, we have no theoretical basis for social insurance, little hope of fostering an analytical and critical appreciation of these services, and no basis for administrative practices in these areas. The same obviously is true of social case work. Social practice must of necessity have a theoretical basis; it can not and does not exist in a vacuum. In order to improve social practice, social workers are engaged in an eternal quest for principles. Likewise, the student of economic security should not be content with the "practical" without a theoretical basis for his practicality.

What, then, do we mean by the term social insurance? One of

¹"Eligibility" and "entitlement" have precise technical definitions in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Administration. These terms, however, are not so used here.

the leading students of social insurance, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, stated that all insurance is essentially a social function. Inasmuch as insurance is a provision made by a group for the alleviation of the hazards attendant to the happening of an unforeseen event this is correct. Such a definition "emphasizes the fact that social insurance is the policy of organized society to furnish that protection to one part of the population which some other part may need less, or, if needing, is able to purchase voluntarily through private insurance."²

Other students of social insurance, however, have declared that social insurance, strictly speaking, is not insurance at all. Insurance, it has been pointed out, "involves the distribution of the burden of accidents or other loss among persons exposed to risk by means of premiums so measured as to equal the cost. Social insurance is a term applied to government action with reference to the problem of eliminating uncertainty from the income and life-position of workingmen."³

Do not these definitions conflict with one another? Is it possible for all insurance to be social and for social insurance to be so dissimilar from commercial insurance that it might not even be considered as insurance? Yes. Inasmuch as all insurance is a coöperative substitute for individual effort it is social; and inasmuch as social insurance is not completely analogous to commercial insurance it is not, strictly speaking, insurance. It is important to recognize these points if we wish to understand social insurance.

Social insurance is a means of anticipating the hazards of industrial workers and mitigating those hazards by granting benefits in accordance with specified conditions. It appears to possess some of the attributes of commercial insurance. The actuarial principle is applied to social insurance as to commercial insurance, the risks are pooled in both types, the insured person suffers the potential risk without personal fault under either kind, and benefits are paid in relation to premiums under both social and commercial insurance. Nevertheless, social insurance is essen-

² I. M. Rubinow, *Social Insurance* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1916), p. 3.

³ Robert Morse Woodbury, *Social Insurance, an Economic Analysis* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1917), p. 2.

tially a form of governmental social policy rather than a system of insurance.

The eligibility requirements for social insurance differ somewhat from those of public assistance. In the first place, one receives social insurance presumably on the basis of a contractual right, whereas the recipient of public assistance must prove need through the means test. One who receives old age and survivors insurance benefits is eligible if he has reached the age of sixty-five, has retired from work in covered employment, and if he has earned a certain amount of money during a specified period. His grant is not contingent upon the proof of need and it is possible for a \$100,000-a-year executive to receive an old age and survivors insurance grant on retirement.

In the second place, the amount of insurance grants is dependent upon the premium one has paid and/or a percentage of wages. Benefits under our workmen's compensation systems usually range from 50 to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ percent of wages. The primary benefits of old age and survivors insurance are calculated on the basis of 40 percent of the first fifty dollars of average monthly wages, plus 10 percent of the next two hundred dollars of monthly wages, plus one percent of this basic amount for each year in which the individual is in covered employment. Benefits under unemployment compensation are generally 50 percent of wages, with a maximum benefit of fifteen dollars per week and a minimum of five dollars. The amount of public assistance grants is determined in accordance with need as estimated by the investigatory-budgetary process and the availability of funds.

In the third place, the benefit period for social insurance is usually specified while, theoretically at least, public assistance benefits are awarded for the duration of dependency. It is true, of course, that superannuated workers receive old age and survivors insurance benefits until they die. Other forms of social insurance have specified duration periods. Awards under unemployment compensation usually last for sixteen to twenty weeks and those under workmen's compensation are determined in accordance with the type of injury suffered. The sight of one eye is valued as 100 weeks of work in Alabama, 140 in Idaho, fifty in

Massachusetts, and 275 in Wisconsin. The loss of the index finger is equated as comparable to thirty-nine weeks of work in Arizona, thirty in Georgia, forty in Illinois, and twenty-nine and a half in North Dakota.⁴

Social insurance presumably differs from public assistance primarily because the recipient is entitled to his award on the basis of a contractual right and not through dependency proved by a means test. This distinction was rigidly adhered to by the terms of the original Social Security Act. This situation, however, was altered somewhat on January 1, 1940, when the 1939 amendments to the act became effective.

These amendments make provisions for additional benefits for a covered wage earner's dependents and survivors, expanding old age insurance into old age and survivors insurance—a significant change in terminology. Wives, widows, dependent children, and dependent parents are now entitled to certain stipulated benefits. A beneficiary's wife, if she is over sixty-five, is entitled to a benefit of one half of her husband's; a dependent child if under the age of sixteen (eighteen if in school) is entitled to a similar grant; a surviving widow is entitled to three fourths of her husband's grant; a surviving dependent child one half; and a surviving dependent parent one half. In no case, however, can the maximum grant be more than two times the primary benefit, or eighty-five dollars, whichever is the lesser amount. The minimum grant is ten dollars per month.

Although dependency has been added as an eligibility requirement for the awarding of old age and survivors insurance in certain cases, it should be pointed out that it is *de facto* dependency. That is, it is determined in accordance with specific rules. A wife, for example, is entitled to receive an additional grant: (1) if she is sixty-five and the original beneficiary is still alive; (2) if she is living with the original beneficiary; and (3) if she married him before she was sixty or before 1940 or if she is the mother of his child. The fact that the wife must be sixty-five defeats, in some instances, the intention of the law. It is, of course, the intention

⁴ Marshall Dawson, *Problems of Workmen's Compensation Administration* (Washington: Government Printing Office, Bulletin No. 672 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1940), Table 14, pp. 211-12.

of the law to prevent young girls from marrying old men merely to secure a pension. Nevertheless, if a woman aged fifty-five has been married for twenty years is she not dependent upon her husband? Would it not, then, be preferable to require that the wife, in order to secure an additional benefit, not be employed in covered employment and have been married to the original beneficiary for ten years?

A surviving widow proves her eligibility in the following manner: (1) In order to show relationship she must (a) prove that she married the man prior to the twelfth month before the month in which he died, or (b) that she is the mother of his children; (2) she must show that she was living with him at the time of his death or otherwise dependent upon him.

A dependent child must prove his relationship to the original beneficiary, verify his age, and show dependency. He is deemed dependent upon his father if he is his father's legal child and has been living with him. If he is not living with his father and his father is not contributing to his support he is not considered dependent upon his father. Inasmuch as a child is dependent until sixteen if not attending school, but until eighteen if attending school, school attendance must be proved. Forms are used to show school attendance. One form is filled out by the child and his parents, another by the school principal, and a third is left with the school principal to be filled out in case the child drops out of school. An illegitimate child, if acknowledged by the father and living with him or being supported by him, is entitled to the same benefit as a legitimate child.

If a covered worker dies leaving no widow or dependent children, a monthly benefit may be paid to his dependent parent or parents. The law specifies that they must be wholly dependent upon the wage earner, but the Social Security Board is willing to accept evidence of three-fourths dependency as total dependency. A statement is generally accepted as proof of dependency unless there is evidence to the contrary. The dependent parent or parents receive such annuities from the age of sixty-five until death. There are comparatively few awards of this sort, and some people think that they should not be part of an old age insurance pro-

gram. Why not, they ask, also include dependent brothers, sisters, or cousins?

Dependency, if it can be automatically determined in accordance with such formulas, does not necessarily introduce a complicated means test based upon intricate and detailed investigatory processes. In a few cases, however, dependency cannot be automatically determined. This has led to the introduction of an administrative procedure known as "social determination." A social insurance administrator, for example, may not be able to judge the fitness of a home for dependent children. He so reports to the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance in Washington, suggesting that an investigation be made by a social worker. The request is given to the Bureau of Public Assistance in Washington; from there it is dispatched to the state public assistance agency, which in turn transfers it to the state child welfare division. The head of the child welfare division forwards it to the regional child welfare consultant who either makes the requested investigation or has a local child welfare worker do it. This is recognition of the technical competence of social workers and evidence of the coöperative spirit between the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and the Bureau of Public Assistance. It is, however, a very cumbersome arrangement and is often unproductive.

A few illustrations may help to clarify this point. A young widow with a dependent child received an old age and survivors insurance benefit for the child, but was reported by the child's paternal relatives as an unfit mother with an unwholesome home for the child. The social insurance administrators, upon cursory investigation, recognized the possible validity of these complaints, and an investigation by a social worker was requested. About a year later a report was made by the child welfare worker without specifically proving the alleged facts and without making a definite recommendation. The child continued to live with his mother and the mother continued to receive a benefit until she went to work in covered employment. In another case a mother was committed to a state institution for the insane while she was receiving an old age and survivors insurance benefit for a dependent child.

Before the report was received from the child welfare worker the mother had been released and was again caring for the child.

These cases do not condemn the child welfare workers; they merely illustrate the cumbersomeness of the procedure. The Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance has recently announced its intention of employing social workers as consultants. This is not simply recognition of the professional competence of social workers, but evidence that the Bureau is anxious to alter the present plan.

The important point, however, is that need must be taken into consideration in establishing eligibility for certain kinds of social insurance. Need is much less rigidly interpreted for old age and survivors insurance than for public assistance. Indeed, in most cases every effort is made by the old age and survivors insurance personnel to give the applicant the highest possible annuity, whereas the opposite tendency is often discernible in public assistance. There are a variety of reasons for this.

In the first place, there is the important psychological distinction between social insurance and public assistance. The contractual right to social insurance, contrasted with the legal right to receive public assistance, has, to a large extent, eliminated the necessity for a rigidly applied means test in social insurance administration. It is not uneconomic to grant a superannuated worker and his dependents an annuity toward which he has contributed, but it is uneconomic to grant him a pension toward which he has not contributed. This is based upon what I have cynically labeled "the belief in the therapeutic value of saving."⁵

In the second place, public assistance is suffering from the history, traditions, and customs of the poor laws. Centuries of local financial and administrative responsibility for poor relief have produced a philosophical "hangover" that is difficult to eradicate. It may never be eradicated as long as we insist upon using such terms as "relief" and "aid" to designate public assistance awards. It is not the use of these terms that causes the difficulty, but their association with poor relief.

⁵ Arthur P. Miles, "The Inconsistencies of the Social Security Act," *Social Forces*, XX (March, 1942), 345-46.

In the third place, public assistance is more directly than old age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation a local and state concern. This stems in part from the poor law tradition of public assistance. Public assistance, however, is more definitely dependent upon state and local appropriations than the social insurance categories of the Social Security Act.

Old age and survivors insurance is not the only social insurance system that is related to and, to some extent, dependent upon, public assistance. What happens to the unemployed worker during the period which follows the exhaustion of benefits and precedes re-employment? Many of them must, of necessity, turn to relief. Unemployment compensation was originally believed by many to be, in principle, sharply differentiated from relief or public assistance:

It has frequently been called "the first line of defense" against unemployment. After a short waiting period the unemployed worker who has earned wage credits in covered employment receives benefits as a matter of right, paid to him as an individual regardless of family ties or responsibilities. . . .⁶

After six years of experience we are now convinced that unemployment compensation is merely the first line of defense and nothing more, and that even during a mild economic recession many recipients of unemployment compensation are forced to apply for relief after they have exhausted their benefit rights.

A study of the Detroit area during the 1938 recession revealed that 30 percent of the beneficiaries received relief after the exhaustion of unemployment compensation benefits.⁷ It is now apparent from current analyses of the Bureau of Employment Security that in most states many of the benefit claimants fail to secure re-employment before exhausting their benefit rights. This, it must be remembered, is for a comparatively prosperous period. A recent study showed that the average beneficiary in Polk

⁶ Ewan Clague, "The Relationship between Unemployment Compensation and Relief from a National Point of View," *Social Security Bulletin*, I, No. 6 (June, 1938), 7.

⁷ Daniel Creamer and Arthur C. Wellman, "Adequacy of Unemployment Benefits in the Detroit Area during the 1938 Recession," *Social Security Bulletin*, III, No. 11 (November, 1940), 3-11.

County, Iowa (1938-39) was entitled to approximately twelve weeks of benefits and that two thirds of all beneficiaries exhausted their benefit rights. Nineteen percent of those who exhausted their benefit rights were in households that eventually obtained relief or employment by the Work Projects Administration.⁸

Thus we are forced to recognize that the unemployment insurance system will not, in and of itself, provide complete and adequate care for unemployed workers. The system is not only unable to insure long-time unemployment, but even during periods of short-time unemployment many persons are obliged to apply for relief. When we further recognize that less than 50 percent of the gainfully occupied persons are covered under unemployment compensation our conviction in this regard is strengthened.

It is now recognized that public assistance and social insurance are not mutually exclusive programs. We have tacitly admitted that need must be taken into consideration for certain types of insurance against the hazards of old age. We have likewise admitted that there are basic limitations inherent in unemployment insurance: It cannot compensate long-time unemployment, mass unemployment, and periodical unemployment. A functional relationship between our social insurance and public assistance programs is required. Social insurance and public assistance are necessary complements and although one is not a substitute for the other, the one cannot exist in healthy form without the other. Unemployment compensation and old age and survivors insurance, as we have learned after six years of experience, do not obviate the necessity for general relief. It is, therefore, unfortunate that we have not established a general assistance category under the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act.

The influence of social insurance principles upon public assistance likewise must not be overlooked. Eligibility requirements for old age assistance have been liberalized throughout the country. Townsendism and its various offshoots—California's "ham and eggs" plan, the "twenty dollars every Tuesday" crusade, etc.—may be a form of economic insanity, but it is based upon a

⁸ Howard J. Freeman, "Unemployment Benefit Rights and Beneficiaries in Polk County, Iowa, 1938-39," *Social Security Bulletin*, V, No. 4 (January, 1942), 15-24.

genuine desire on the part of oldsters for respectable old age pensions. It is, if you please, a political reaction to the rigidity of the means test for old age assistance. There are many students of economic security who are convinced that old age and survivors insurance and old age assistance eventually will be supplanted by a system of noncontributory old age pensions. That would be the logical result of the rapprochement between social insurance and public assistance. This will not be in effect tomorrow, but it is apparent that the means test may be less rigidly applied in public assistance administration. A simplified means test with flat grants based upon a family allowance system is receiving increased support among those responsible for formulating old age assistance policies.

It is obvious that social insurance and public assistance are not mutually exclusive systems, but simply two essential methods of providing economic security for numerous American citizens. There is a definite reciprocal relationship between the two; social insurance principles have influenced our assistance programs and need has been taken into consideration in certain insurance provisions. This reciprocal relationship, which has only recently manifested itself in this country, is destined to become increasingly important.

The trends in public assistance and social insurance are of paramount importance to the social case worker, especially the budgetary-investigatory agents in public assistance programs. Because of the rapprochement between public assistance and social insurance the case work approach in public assistance must demonstrate its value in the determination of eligibility. If a case work approach in a public assistance agency can be used to determine eligibility in an efficient, humane, and professionally conscious fashion it would not be impossible for a similar approach to be utilized by social insurance agencies.

The problem is not insurmountable, but it cannot be solved in the traditional manner by the appointment of a study committee. If social workers are to demonstrate their professional competence in social administration (that is, in both public assistance and social insurance) they must, of necessity, acquire a

broad and theoretical socio-economic perspective of social problems. The curricula of schools of social work must become more flexible, social insurance administrators must become aware of the professional competence of social workers in this area, and social workers must think in terms of social administration rather than exclusively in terms of case work, group work, and community organization. Social workers must, in short, learn to take the long view.

CONFLICTING THEORIES IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

By *PETER CASIUS*

ARE WE actually conscious of the conflicting theories in public assistance in the United States? It is generally assumed in social work circles that an assistance program must be based on need, and that need implies a certain standard of life that can be measured in quantitative terms. As against such an approach, there is the predicament of the worker who is constantly faced with questions from people who assume that old age assistance, for instance, is essentially a flat grant-in-aid system, a pension rather than assistance. We can sympathize with the worker. The actual experience in a large number of states indicates that a high percentage of the grants paid are for a fixed amount. This amount may be near the maximum that can be paid under state law or, where funds are inadequate, the amount may be fixed at a certain arbitrary percentage under the maximum. In states where standards of assistance are low, the bulk of the payments may be for a flat amount of eight dollars, ten dollars, and so on. There are some states, however, where the distribution follows a more normal curve, beginning with a few payments at the five-dollar level and gradually moving upward to the crest of the curve, which may be around twenty or twenty-five dollars, and then moving downward again as the amount of payments increases.

One cannot look at this picture from a national viewpoint without getting the impression that the end results do not come so much from reasoned theory as from a combination of practical considerations, either with no specific theory behind them or from

conflicting theories. It is in old age assistance and aid to the blind that it is particularly difficult to distinguish between pension philosophy attempting to operate within the framework of assistance programs, and a straight assistance program. We have to assume that assistance must always bear some relationship to need. To say this is not to condone all the rigidities, the petty scrutinies, and the paternalistic attitudes traditionally associated with the applications of a means test. It is simply to say that the determination of need can be placed upon an objective basis through the development of standards governing both the requirements essential to well-being and the utilization of resources, not as penalties, but in the interest of the client's well-being.

Those who urge the abandonment of the theory of assistance based on need in favor of a pension system assume that standards of care will be higher and that there will be less intrusion into the private affairs of the recipient. It seems very doubtful that we could ever look forward to a system of pensions that would be high enough to insure even a minimum of security for everyone. The differences in circumstances of all kinds among people would soon indicate the necessity for a supplementary program, and then we would be right back where we are. There is another fallacy that appears in some of the arguments used to justify pensions, and to discredit assistance, and that is that people do not object to revealing their resources so much as they resent inquiry into their needs. I have always suspected that this was merely a rationalization with little to support it.

Since as a national policy we have established insurance systems to cover old age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation, and since there are encouraging indications that these programs will be both expanded and extended, it would seem that any intermediate pension system would only complicate the vast problem of providing some reasonable security against the hazards of life. Certainly, so far as possible, we should hope that the insurance programs, and sound work programs as well, would provide the basic security and that the assistance programs would not be thought of as competitive but as supplementary. It would seem that their supplementary character could be maintained only

if they remain flexible, that is, sensitive to the needs that people have which we may never be able to comprehend satisfactorily in programs based upon presumptive as distinguished from actual need.

Perhaps our problem is not so much a matter of conflict in theory as it is a lack of theory. By theory I assume we mean an established set of principles, professionally accepted, as guides to "giving relief" or, to use more formal language, "to determine need and amount of assistance payments." I suspect that we have been shy in approaching this problem chiefly because, with rare exceptions, funds for relief or assistance have never been sufficient to meet really adequate standards. During the depression years many assistance agencies were fortunate if they could meet minimum requirements of food, clothing, and shelter. Other items were provided on an emergency or "as needed" basis, but without any recognition of what makes up an acceptable living for people as people. The basic issue presented by this problem was practically lost sight of with the inauguration of a large-scale work program in which wages were in the main in excess of former relief grants.

The advent of the categorical public assistance programs, under the Social Security Act, seemed to present fresh opportunity for the development of assistance standards which might ultimately raise standards for the whole field of public relief or assistance. While evidence can be marshaled to show that to some extent this has been the case, it would be folly to close our eyes to the facts as they exist today, six years after the inauguration of these programs. Viewed in broad statistical results, we now have a program for the needy aged covering more than two million, two hundred thousand persons, who receive an average monthly payment, for the nation as a whole, of \$21.64.¹ Children, for some reason or another, have not fared so well. There are still three jurisdictions (two states and Alaska) without an aid to dependent children program under the Social Security Act. The number of children benefiting under this program is still short of a million,² repre-

¹ As of February, 1942.

² In February, 1942, the number was 954,863.

senting roughly four hundred thousand families. The payments per family average \$34.08³ per month. Recipients of aid to the blind now number approximately fifty-three thousand, with an average monthly payment of \$24.18.⁴

But statistics on coverage and average payments tell us very little about theory. If we really want to look at this problem from a practical point of view, we have to begin with the situation confronting the local worker when dealing with an application for assistance. At that critical point, the determination to be made may be very simple, or it may be fraught with many complexities arising out of difficult eligibility considerations. Even in the simplest situations, the decision that is made revolves around consideration of a number of factors. Let us briefly analyze three of these factors: (1) adequacy of funds; (2) restrictions on eligibility; and (3) Federal matching provisions.

When we consider the adequacy of funds we encounter a wide range of factors that complicate the development and maintenance of a sound and consistent theory of assistance. Where local funds are involved, as they are in twenty-two states under old age assistance, and in twenty-six states under aid to dependent children, the adequacy or inadequacy of local funds tends to fix the standard, particularly where the amount of state funds to be made available is conditioned by the amount of available local funds. Then the combination of local and state funds, of course, determines the extent of Federal financial participation. Where the programs are financed without local participation, the responsibility is less diffused, but the ability of states to carry the programs unaided by local tax resources may become increasingly difficult in our present war economy. For instance, a decline in revenue from sales taxes which may not be compensated for in an increase in other forms of state taxation, such as the income tax, may impose heavier burdens upon local property taxes as a method of financing assistance costs. The inevitability, therefore, of continuing and possibly increased local financial burdens points to the need of some form of intrastate equalization in order to assure some degree of equitable treatment among assistance recipients.

³ February, 1942.

⁴ February, 1942.

The present basis of Federal financial participation is far from satisfactory. So long as the Federal Government matches payments on a fifty-fifty basis, the grant-in-aid theory simply operates to help the states according to their ability to help themselves, rather than according to their need for Federal aid. Proposals have been advanced and are receiving careful official consideration looking toward special aid for low-income states. If such proposals are made effective through amendments to the Federal act, one more step will have been taken toward assuring more adequate and equitable treatment of all persons in need under these programs.

Assuming that we find more satisfactory answers to adequate financing, we are still faced with many anomalies and restrictions, some the product of administrative policy and some the result of statutory law. It is not our intention to enter into an exhaustive analysis of these restrictions that stand in the way of the development of sound theory and practice. There are still many eligibility provisions that really have very little, if any, bearing upon determination of need. Examples of such restrictive provisions are: arbitrary limitations on property holdings, both real and personal, including insurance; relatives' ability to support; residence; and citizenship. We find also requirements relating to "suitability of home," in aid to dependent children; willingness to take corrective treatments and to refrain from soliciting alms, in aid to the blind; and similar provisions that have little relevance to financial need. It is sometimes difficult to find a rational basis for these restrictive factors. Property provisions are understandable because as a people we are very property-minded. So long as the public through legislation or otherwise proceeds on the theory that relief is for the destitute, and that before assistance can be made available property liquidation must take place, we are actually running counter to the principle of conservation of resources. While the possession of property has bearing on need, its significance as a resource depends upon its kind, the amount, its marketability, the expenses involved in its maintenance, etc. Likewise, insurance should be considered from an actuarial viewpoint before a policy is used as a basis for disqualification for assistance. If we are to develop a sound and workable theory of assistance, ownership of

property should not be a bar to the consideration of all relevant factors bearing upon the question of need. Similarly, factors that relate to personal behavior should not be set up as disqualifications, for to do so is to aggravate the very situation which assistance is intended to relieve. Here again it is difficult to formulate effective practice based upon sound theory because of the intrusion of anomalies, irrelevancies, and restrictions that have no valid relationship to the real issue—that of need, and how to meet it.

Further difficulties have arisen out of the application of Federal matching requirements. These requirements provide for fifty-fifty matching up to forty dollars for the aged and blind, and fifty-fifty matching for children, with an eighteen-dollar limit for the first child and twelve dollars for each additional child. While there is nothing in the Federal act which implies that these amounts should represent maximum payments, many states have apparently assumed in their legislation that such was the intent of the Federal act. Actually, these maxima are merely formulas for measuring the Federal grant. They form the basis for a computation, and were never intended to be a Federal standard of need.

In the field of old age assistance and aid to the blind, the forty-dollar maximum payment has been used by states in two ways. In some states, particularly in the far West, forty dollars has been taken as the measure of need of every eligible person. These laws further provide for a deduction of income and resources from the forty dollars, with the resulting amount representing the amount of the individual payment. This approach presents two basic difficulties. The one is whether, by legislative fiat, it is realistic to say that the measure of need should be arbitrarily fixed, whether at thirty dollars, or forty dollars, or at any arbitrary amount. Such an approach ignores not only the differences in need that arise out of differences in living arrangements, in health, in family obligations, etc., but also the differences in living costs between urban and rural communities, and the fluctuations in living costs from time to time. The second difficulty relates to the consideration of income and resources in terms of a "deduction" from the grant. The Federal act does provide that, in determining need,

the state agency shall take into consideration all other income and resources of the applicant. Now this does not mean that income must of necessity be deducted from some fixed amount; it only means that it is to be considered in relation to need. Since economic need relates to both requirements and resources, an essential unity exists between standards for requirements and those for resources, and they should be considered as parts of a whole.

For most states with maximum payments, the maxima do not operate to establish a fixed measure of need, but simply fix the limit of the payment. While the existence of such maxima often makes it impossible to meet need adequately, they do not interfere with the establishment of standards and the making of realistic determinations based thereon. If, for instance, in a state with a forty-dollar ceiling on payments, the requirements of the applicant under established standards total sixty dollars, and the available resources account for only fifteen dollars of such requirements, the agency would still fall short, by the sum of five dollars, in meeting the need. However, by approaching the problem in this way, the agency knows to what extent need is being met, and thereby places itself in a position to estimate with reasonable accuracy the funds that are required to maintain its program, both before the public and before budgetary and appropriating authorities.

In the aid to dependent children program there is a special problem relating to matching. The eighteen-dollar maximum for the first child should be increased to at least forty dollars in order to give recognition to the fact that a child cannot be cared for apart from the family of which he forms a part. Since the purpose of the program is to provide security for children in their own home or in the home of near relatives, the assistance provided should be consistent with this objective. Having recognized forty dollars as a matching basis for needy adults, certainly a program that includes concern for both a child and an adult should begin at least at the same level. To do otherwise is to perpetuate a form of discrimination that has kept this program from achieving the fine social objectives that inspired its inception in 1935.

Thus far we have considered our subject from the standpoint

of the administration of categorical assistance, and have pointed out some of the practical difficulties that stand in the way of the formulation of clear-cut theory and that interfere with the practical application of whatever theory we may have. In view of the experience to date it seems doubtful that we shall be able to evolve a sound and workable theory in the field of categorical assistance until we can achieve a more thoroughgoing acceptance of the assistance function for all people in need. As we look at the present situation we find wide variations in the requirements that are recognized as essential to health and well-being. The absence of a general assistance category means that we have one social attitude toward the needs of people who are over sixty-five, and quite a different attitude toward people under that age who may be equally in need. We have recognized that for some people the Federal Government has a responsibility, and for others it has not. The rationale for such differences and variations can be explained in terms of historical development. And since there is no historical imperative for consistency, we are on occasion inclined to accept the historical explanation as binding and thereby continue to tolerate inherent inequities.

In our search for acceptable and workable theory, we may have to go back to certain elementary principles. Our principal objective, certainly, is to provide at least a minimum material security for all. Material security should be related to the essentials of family living which include food, shelter, clothing, health care, recreation, and all other items that are needed for well-rounded development. Discrimination as to race or residence should have no place in this objective. Policies and standards should be based upon careful study and research bearing upon living costs. Assistance should be in cash and unrestricted as to its use by the recipient. Assistance programs should bear an equitable relationship to each other so that persons in similar circumstances will be similarly treated. Assistance should be administered in such a way as to safeguard the recipient's right to privacy and confidence. The conditions of eligibility should be known to the recipient group, actual as well as potential, and to the public at large. The opportunity for a fair hearing should be provided as a matter of right

so that assistance, no less than insurance, will have its basis in expressed public policy and not in administrative whim or prejudice.

Is it possible to take these principles and through administrative policy and procedure forge a consistent and defensible theory of relief? This cannot be accomplished by one level of government alone so long as the financial responsibilities are shared by three units of government. From the Federal viewpoint, we might expect more in the way of general standards, but as yet uniform criteria are not available for a "reasonable standard for health and welfare" in all places and for all needy individuals and families. Differences in geographical location, climate, ways of living, attitudes toward local autonomy, and approval or disapproval of what constitutes adequate standards of living make it difficult if not impossible to develop uniform Federal standards. The Federal Government, however, should stimulate more and more research looking toward the development of living standards. Research in nutrition has determined with reasonable assurance the quantity and variety of foods necessary for maintenance of optimum nutrition. Certain kinds of housing standards, sometimes referred to as "minimum," are also fairly well established with respect to sanitation, safety and repair, room occupancy, etc., which can be adapted locally. Little progress, however, has been made with respect to the analysis of other essentials of family living.

On the financial side, it seems clear that the grant-in-aid system should be modified to permit some form of Federal equalization, and also financial participation in service costs, including particularly medical services. Any theory of relief that overlooks the constructive possibilities in service and rehabilitation falls short as a practical goal.

It is still too early to tell whether the war will retard or accelerate solutions of some of the problems that we are discussing. Social guarantees against freedom from want and freedom from fear have been formally announced as among the things we are fighting for. As abstractions they invoke universal assent. They can be given meaning only through accomplishment.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FEATURES OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

By MAUDE T. BARRETT

SOcial SECURITY represents a major effort of society to maintain and promote the security of its members and, through the healthy development of personal security, to strengthen the foundations of democracy. The purpose of the Social Security Act passed by the Congress in 1935 is expressed in its first paragraph, which reads in part: "To provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old age benefits and by enabling the several states to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children." Federal grants-in-aid to the states for the care of three categories of needy persons have been available under the provisions of this act for slightly more than six years. There is consequently sufficient accumulated evidence resulting from the experience the states have had during this period to evaluate the public assistance provisions of the act, and the positive and negative factors involved in the administration of programs of categorical assistance.

The respective advantages and disadvantages of programs of categorical and noncategorical assistance have been discussed and debated at great length and with considerable emotion, not only since the passage of the Social Security Act, but even before 1935. Advocates of categorical assistance point out that through its means certain groups of persons least able to care for themselves are given protection. Opponents of categorical assistance deplore the policy of singling out for preferred treatment special groups

of the needy, whose only common characteristic, aside from need, is age, or a physical handicap, or the absence or incapacity of a parent.

Advocates of categorical assistance argue that groups of persons have set themselves up into categories, and have operated as pressure groups, frequently sponsoring various unsound schemes, and that because of the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act, as well as the insurance features of the same act, such pressure loses much of its effectiveness. Opponents of categorical assistance declare that, to the contrary, the existence of categories has given aid and ammunition to the pressure groups and that the continuance of such a program lulls the public into a false feeling that all the persons least able to care for themselves and in greatest need are provided with minimum necessities. Because of the pressure groups in some states, legislatures have made special appropriations, or have earmarked the proceeds of certain taxes for the use of only one of the categories. The result has frequently been that individual grants in one category are much larger than in another, depending upon which category has the larger state appropriation. The appropriation for one category may be larger than is needed and the appropriation for another may be much too small, but funds cannot be transferred and any balances left must revert to the general fund at the end of the fiscal year. However, even persons most opposed to the continuation of a program of categorical assistance recognize that with the passage of the Social Security Act the development of public welfare in the United States was pushed forward to a point hitherto considered impossible.

The original Social Security bill required states receiving grants-in-aid to maintain standards compatible with decency and health. As amended it guaranteed to the individual the right to question any decision regarding his eligibility, and to know the reasons upon which such decision was based, providing him with the right to ask for a fair hearing. It assured him protection against humiliation, exploitation, and political pressure, by providing for the confidential nature of records. Under the rules and regulations promulgated by the Social Security Board, the right

of the individual to plan his own expenditures within the limitations of his grant has been recognized, through the requirement that assistance be given in cash, not in kind, and that no condition regarding the method of spending the grant be imposed upon him. These provisions are all positive factors which should be preserved regardless of what change or modifications are subsequently made in the Social Security Act.

There are, however, certain elements inherent in any program of categorical assistance which cause confusion in the mind of the public, misunderstandings among the client groups, and administrative difficulties for the agency. These problems of interpretation and of administration undoubtedly vary from state to state. States which have sufficient funds for general assistance categories are able to carry on a more or less flexible program. Persons in need can be given public assistance, and Federal matching of funds is claimed only when the persons being given assistance can be placed in one of the various categories. However, in states in which state funds for general assistance for all needy persons are either limited or nonexistent, there are many problems of interpretation and of administration which must be met. Some of these same problems occur in those states which have more or less adequate funds for general relief, but the extent to which they exist is probably less apparent.

The problem of interpretation to the general public is a very real one. It is difficult to explain why funds are available for persons in need who have passed their sixty-fifth birthday but are not available for persons equally in need who are only sixty-three or sixty-four years old. To the public there is nothing magic about the number sixty-five. It is equally hard to explain why the Federal Government, through the Social Security Board, will give assistance to the family of a deserting father, or of an insane or chronically ill parent, but is apparently not interested in the family in which there is temporary illness.

A common complaint is that it takes too long a time for a local department of public welfare to reach a decision regarding eligibility in a given case. Where funds for general assistance are limited, it is not always possible to give a grant from state money

pending the completion of the determination of eligibility. The public cannot understand some of the troubles encountered in various verifications. Take, for example, the age of a person who is applying for old age assistance. He is sure that he is well past sixty-five years of age. In a state in which birth registration is comparatively new; in which baptismal records, except for certain religious groups, do not exist; in which, particularly in rural areas, births are attended by a midwife, or by a friend or neighbor of the family, proof of age is practically impossible to obtain. The Louisiana Department of Public Welfare *Manual of Policies and Procedures* lists twenty-five preferred methods of verifying age, twelve accepted methods, and one possible method—the last to be used only in the event that none of the other thirty-seven methods bring satisfactory results. The same problem in a slightly lesser degree is found in verifying residence. The Louisiana *Manual* lists twenty-five possible methods of verifying residence. Even with this large choice of means and methods there have been many instances in which the worker has been unable, even after exhaustive efforts, to verify either age or residence.

The problem of interpreting a program of categorical assistance to the person making application for financial aid is not an easy one to solve. One of the difficulties is inherent in any program constructed to deal with certain special groups. Persons applying for public assistance ordinarily do not think of themselves as belonging to a category. A person in need knows only that he lacks the means to provide himself with the necessities of life, and when he goes to a public assistance agency and makes application, he finds the red tape confusing. He cannot understand why various facts concerning himself must be proved. People live in communities as individuals, as members of families, as members of churches, lodges, of social, economic, and industrial groups, held together by family ties, by community interest and beliefs. They are not conscious of belonging to any category other than that of family, church, social or occupational group. But the moment they apply for public assistance they cease to be members of a community and become members of a category defined by legal definitions of eligibility.

Another problem is that of teaching the untrained worker not to think in compartments. The establishment of categories of need has brought to the public welfare program a tremendous amount of red tape, and a multiplicity of rules and regulations. It is, of course, obvious that any administration, be it public welfare or business, must be governed by well-defined policies. However, it would seem that there are certain factors inseparable to a program of categorical assistance that make simplification within the limitations of sound administration impossible. Because of the emphasis that must necessarily be placed on legal eligibility, it sometimes seems that all efforts of local departments of public welfare are directed at verifications, and the determination of legal eligibility, and that the social treatment of the individual or the family, and the services that could and should be made available are forgotten or neglected in the feverish efforts of the worker to make sure that every legal point of eligibility has been explored. An untrained worker becomes so overwhelmed by the points of legal eligibility and the various ways through which verifications can be made that frequently she loses sight of everything else. When the investigation is completed and the grant has been approved, the worker has the sense of a task finished, and it is hard, if not impossible, to get her to see that the process of determining eligibility and certifying for the grant is but one element of her job, and that the more important task—that of service and, in many cases, rehabilitation—is still to be done.

Although the original Social Security bill provided that standards of assistance should be compatible with decency and health, the maximum Federal limits on the amount of Federal participation which a state may receive for any one individual grant have undoubtedly had a tendency to depress the size of the assistance payments. In a state where funds for general assistance are limited, the local welfare director finds himself constantly keeping a weather eye on the size of the individual grant, conscious that every state dollar will go twice as far with Federal matching. The varying amounts of Federal matching also are hard to justify to the public and to the client, who cannot understand why the Federal Government, through the implications of matching as

provided in the Social Security Act, should feel that an aged blind person should be given a grant of forty dollars a month while a mother with a dependent child should need but eighteen dollars a month on which to live.

Conditioned by all the requirements of legal eligibility, not only the untrained, but even the professional worker, is sometimes at a loss when situations arise which do not seem too clearly covered by regulations. For example, what is continuous residence? Shall an old lady who has gone to a neighboring state to spend a few months with a son or daughter in the year immediately preceding her application for public assistance be disqualified until she has returned home and has again lived for twelve months entirely within the borders of the state in which she has previously spent sixty-four years? What about the ninety-one-year-old man who lives alone in a shack, and who, because he knows that he cannot care for himself, wishes to spend part of the year in an adjoining state with a daughter who is willing to care for him but who needs financial assistance in doing so?

States are urged to make reciprocal agreements, but such agreements are not always easily made owing to the fact that many departments of public welfare are handicapped because of tremendous staff turnover, lack of qualified workers, and inability to keep up with current work because of transportation difficulties brought about by the tire rationing. Too, some state departments of public welfare do not have the legal authority to enter into reciprocal agreements. Moreover, among the various states the legal requirements of eligibility for public assistance are not uniform, and a person who meets the legal requirements in one state might not be legally eligible in another state. Differences between the states in the amounts of the individual grants make it difficult for adjoining states to enter into reciprocal agreements. If it becomes generally known that a person who has moved across the state line is receiving a larger grant than he did before he moved, his previous friends and neighbors who are also receiving grants will have every incentive to find reasons why a change of residence would be advisable for them. Even though there are no legal barriers against reciprocal agreements, state departments of public

welfare are unwilling to guarantee that a person receiving old age assistance in his state of original residence will be considered eligible for a grant in the state of new residence when the legal requirements regarding eligibility have been met. Where there is a heavy pending load there is danger of public criticism if persons from other states are encouraged to move in.

The requirement of the Social Security Board that all grants shall be paid to the recipient and that no condition regarding the expenditure of the grant shall be imposed gives a certain dignity to the administration of public assistance which no one would ever wish to have removed. It also tends to narrow the difference between the person who is receiving the grant and his neighbor who is self-maintaining.

However, when the grant recipient is old and incapable of handling his own affairs, and when the legal machinery provided by the state for the appointment of a guardian is involved and expensive, situations arise which seem almost impossible to handle. Frequently the agency must choose from several alternatives: give the grant, and fear that the person for whom it was intended will not receive the benefit; initiate steps for the appointment of a legal guardian, or persuade friends or relatives to do so; or condition the grant by paying for the maintenance of the aged person in a boarding or private nursing home. If this latter course is followed, the cost of such care must come entirely from state funds.

Even greater difficulties are found in the administration of the program of aid to dependent children. The objectives of the ADC program are the prevention of family disintegration through poverty, the protection of the child in the broken home, and the preservation of the values of normal family life. The Social Security Act provides that a child may be eligible for assistance if he is in need owing to the fact that he has been deprived of parental care or support for any of three reasons: the death, the continued absence from the home, or the physical or mental incapacity of a parent. It lists with great exactness the relatives, including the parents, with whom the child may live in order to be considered eligible.

The problems of administration in connection with children whose father has died are comparatively minor ones. There are, however, many problems in connection with a parent's continued absence from the home. Where funds for general assistance are limited, Work Projects Administration quotas insufficient, and private employment lacking, the mere presence of the father in the home may be the one deterring factor in eligibility for public assistance. Why should not a man desert, more or less with the connivance of his wife, when it is the only way he can see of assuring that the rent will be paid and that his family will have food? There is the problem of deciding how long a father must be absent from the home before the family is eligible for ADC. If too short a time is permitted in which eligibility can be established, how can the agency be sure that the absence is bona fide, that the deserting parent intends to stay away, and that he is not merely staying with friends or relatives? Some state departments require the wife and mother, as an evidence of good faith, to take legal action against her deserting spouse before she can be considered eligible for a grant.

Probably one of the greatest administration problems in an ADC program is that of the physically handicapped father. Too often in such cases a premium is placed on unemployability. Instead of encouraging and assisting a man to regain his health and recover from his disability, the worker, conditioned by all the emphasis which has been placed upon legal eligibility, snatches at a tangible proof—the doctor's statement—to the effect that the man is unable to work. In many cases the doctor is the person who determines eligibility, for if he says the man is able to work, assistance is denied; and if he says the man is unable to work, the family becomes eligible for a grant. The doctor, who may know that the family is in need and who has been told that upon his word rests the decision, is placed in a troubling position. There is frequently no incentive for a man to seek to regain his health when he knows that, whether or not work is available, as soon as he is well the slight prop of the public assistance grant will be taken from the family.

The fact that the Social Security Act lists with great definite-

ness the various relatives with whom children can live and still be eligible to receive an ADC grant frequently limits the plans which can be made for them. All social agencies are called upon to make plans for children who have no near relatives, or whose relatives would not or could not offer them adequate care, or who would profit by placement in a foster home or, under certain circumstances, by the training they would receive in an institution. The limitations imposed by the act preclude placing children, except in the homes of the relatives listed, unless the state meets the entire cost of such care.

The most recent amendments to the Social Security Act, increasing the extent of Federal participation in the ADC grants, and permitting that grants be continued for children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years who are regularly attending school, have resulted in more adequate grants for a longer period of time. Children have been enabled and encouraged to remain in school. However, the fact that the assistance can be given only provided the child is in school may result in keeping in school children who should not be there, and no provision is made for the child who is physically unable to attend school or mentally incapable of learning. It should not be necessary for a mother, in order to receive a fairly adequate grant, to send her idiot child to school each day.

To repeat, problems of administration in connection with a program of categorical assistance are obviously greater in states which have no funds, or very limited funds, for general assistance. However, in states in which public welfare is comparatively new, where the per capita wealth is small, and where there are constitutional barriers to raising more taxes, only a portion of the population is being given the personal security that all should have. It would undoubtedly be possible to amend the Social Security Act year after year, liberalizing certain of its provisions, and making eligibility requirements less strict. It has been suggested that states be given Federal funds to care for nonresidents and migrants. There are, of course, the advocates of old age pensions instead of old age assistance. There has also been much discussion regarding variable grants which would be given to the states ac-

according to a formula which would not reduce Federal participation in the public assistance programs in the wealthier states, but which would make more funds available to the states which are unable to support a more adequate public assistance program than they have now. Proper precautions should, of course, be taken to provide that the states participate in the public assistance program to the full extent of their financial capacities.

Needed even more than variable grants is some provision for Federal matching for general assistance. With the speeding up of the war effort, there has been much movement of population. Men have gone from community to community in search of work, in many instances taking their families with them. Workers who have been assured jobs arrive in new communities without sufficient funds to provide maintenance until the first pay check is received. Others arrive without the assurance of a job and without resources. Some of these are ill or physically handicapped or beyond the age at which the industry will hire them. An agency which is not able to provide general assistance for state or local residents cannot find funds to give temporary assistance to migrant workers. Then, too, there are the sick and the handicapped and the needy who are not old enough to qualify for old age assistance, and the unemployed father who does not want to desert, and the person who has lost residence by just a few months and has not established it elsewhere. The establishment of a category of general assistance would make it possible to give aid to all persons in need regardless of age, physical condition, or residence, and would insure to each one of our citizens personal as well as social security.

HUMAN NEEDS, COMMUNITY PROBLEMS, AND SOCIAL GROUP WORK

SUMMARY OF SECTION II

THE THEME for the program of Section II was "Human Needs, Community Problems, and Social Group Work." A sequence of meetings was designed to afford a creative experience for each Section II conferee, whether lay or professional, experienced or inexperienced, through (a) consideration of specific examples of human need pertinent to group work services together with the community conditions out of which they have arisen, or in relation to which they must be met; (b) consideration of needed resources and construction of sample agency programs to meet the human needs in these community situations; (c) formulation of qualifications for personnel equipped to administer these programs; and (d) consideration of the philosophy and common purposes underlying the efforts of agencies in the field, and the status of the group worker as a professional person.

The following is a composite summary of the proceedings of this section, together with the papers given by Gertrude Wilson and Wilber I. Newstetter. This unified document was prepared by the Editorial Committee of the Group Work Section consisting of Louis H. Blumenthal, chairman, William B. McKenna, Lawrence Norris, Margaret Williamson, and Edith Yeomans.

Under the chairmanship of Wilber I. Newstetter, the Social Group Work Section Committee asked four different groups across the country to explore their local communities with the purpose of searching out the actual needs of individuals and groups, and formulating a plan of meeting these needs in terms

of program and personnel. The four groups were asked to develop their material in a series of preconference meetings. The findings were then brought before the Conference sessions for further discussion.

As the basis of these discussions there was a formal statement of principles dealing with the topic "Human Needs and Social Group Work." Finally, a summarizing panel evaluated the findings, and an editorial committee integrated into a single document all the diverse observations and conclusions.

In the interests of universality, the areas selected for study remain anonymous in the summary of this project, although specific communities actually were studied.

Similarly, to achieve unity and continuity, the names of speakers in the group discussions and of the chairmen of preconference planning groups have been omitted from the summary, but are listed below:

Mary Adams
Rabbi Albert G. Baum
Jack H. Bryan
Margaret Day
Harry J. Emigh
Bert Gold
Stella Hartman
J. Lewis Henderson
Joe Hoffer
W. L. McArthur
Leah Milkman

Harold Murray
Wilber I. Newstetter
Lawrence Norris
Fritz Redl
Helen Rowe
Philip Schiff
Harry Serotkin
Roy Sorenson
Harleigh Trecker
Harry A. Wann
Margaret Williamson

Gertrude Wilson

Each of the four groups met as follows:

First session: Identifying the actual community and specific problems and needs

Second session: Programming to meet specific needs in the actual community

Third session: Personnel requirements to carry out the program as previously outlined

Fourth session: Panel discussion on findings of all four groups, and on practical difficulties and problems

The experiment was a success. The interchange of ideas proved

to be educative and informative. Here was conferring, a getting together of minds, in the true sense of the word. The survey involved close collaboration on the part of the participants in the four preconference and conference meetings. In one group project, for example, there were 125 persons on the four committees engaged in preconference discussions. Moreover, subsequent to the New Orleans meeting of the National Conference of Social Work there was begun a re-examination of an existing agency along the lines developed in the discussions, and with the assistance of those who had participated in the meetings.

At the opening session of the section's Conference meetings Gertrude Wilson delivered the following paper:

HUMAN NEEDS PERTINENT TO GROUP WORK SERVICES

The people, as Carl Sandburg said, "is an abstraction," composed of all human beings, dead, alive, and to be born, each one different yet each alike, so much alike that we dare to generalize as to their needs and chances of happiness. What have the people struggled for throughout these long years known as the history of man? It is my purpose to examine the fundamental needs of the people, or of society and the individuals who compose it, and against this background to analyze some actual group situations in which the group work service has played a conspicuous part. Finally, I shall point out the contribution that group work service is making, and can make, toward helping society and the individual to meet basic needs.

All human beings need to have opportunities to grow up free to make choices which will make it possible for them to secure a living, establish a home, rear children, enjoy leisure, and feel at home in the universe. This yearning to be at one with the universe is expressed through overwhelming desire to belong to things, to men, and to God. Possessions, organizations, and religions are the institutional evidences of man's struggle to meet his basic needs.

Man must be regarded as a whole. He really has but one need, and that is to live wholly and completely. Any given culture sets difficulties to overcome, but the possibility of accomplishing, at

least partially, a man's personal goals should be within the realm of this world and in his time. Man needs things; he needs relationships with people; and he needs a conviction that he is part of a whole that is greater than his immediate world. These three elements are all part of the one need of man to live creatively. However, the history of the world can be told in terms of man's pursuit of the satisfaction of first one facet of his need and then of another, instead of the pursuit of his whole need. In spite of the fact that many have amassed great fortunes, have established particularly satisfying relationships, or have developed large religious groups, the world man has created presents a picture of deprivation and unhappiness. Much energy has been devoted to attacking these parts as if each represented the key to the unhappiness caused by the unmet needs of man. Some have claimed that man's needs are primarily economic and that once those needs are met the rest of his troubles will disappear. Some have worked on the basis that ignorance is the cause of man's difficulties, and therefore they have proposed education as the answer to the fundamental need of man. Others have said that man is his own worst enemy, and that the real source of his difficulties lies within, that once his emotional problems are straightened out he will be able to handle all the others. Still others have said that the trouble is that man has forgotten God and that if he will just "get right with God" his problems will be solved. In our estimation, all these groups are partially correct, but the programs proposed by each have only partially succeeded because they are seen in terms of the part instead of the whole need of man. Man does not live by bread alone, nor does he live by beauty, love, play, or worship alone; he lives by satisfying his whole self, which demands love, respect, play, and work in proportions peculiar to his particular personality.

Man does not get to the state of creative living until his survival needs are met. These are interdependent, and each must receive attention if he is to create a better world-wide basis of living. Man's needs cannot be dealt with separately because man himself is a whole; he has no distinctly emotional problem which does not also have its physical and intellectual components. The same

can be said of the relationship of each of these parts to the others. Therefore, at any one time it is necessary to consider all his needs.

An equally important concept to establish is related to the old philosophical argument over whether the whole is something more than the sum of its parts. It is our opinion that society in the abstract represents the "something" which is created by its "parts" (the individuals which compose it) and that society has needs, the satisfaction of which is as important as the satisfaction of the needs of each individual in it. These needs are not the same as the sum of the needs of the people, but they are needs which are created because the people interact with one another. The satisfaction of these needs is necessary if order instead of chaos is to be maintained. These needs are expressed in the social norms of society at any given time. The continuance of society is dependent upon the conformability of the majority or of a controlling minority of the individuals who compose it. This does not mean that the *status quo* must be maintained, but it does mean that the life of man is dependent upon a balance in society between keeping the old and adopting the new. Society as a whole needs both the conservative who is "not the first by whom the new is tried, nor yet the last to turn the old aside," and the radical who gives stimulation and leadership to the development of new patterns based on new values. Groups are the media through which society passes on its norms and through which it is perpetuated. The members of groups, however, have the opportunity and the obligation to evaluate and, if beneficial, to change these values as they are passed on from one generation to another.

Many of the values dominating society at the present time are contrary to the welfare and happiness both of the individual and of society. For example, the value of freedom has been held dear throughout many epochs—it was the cornerstone of the French, American, and Russian revolutions—but it has been translated in terms of freedom from oppression rather than freedom to undertake responsibilities. Today it is of greater importance that we fight for freedom to establish a new way of life for all races and cultures of mankind than that we fight against the

oppression which the symbols of totalitarianism represent. To accomplish this goal it is necessary that we realize that freedom for the individual is not sufficient and that freedom for society is essential if the individual is to be safeguarded.

Whenever there are unmet needs, problems appear with which help is needed. When an individual is deprived of love or an opportunity to do useful work and, consequently, the other concomitants of satisfactory living, all kinds of familiar problems arise. Unemployment, inadequate housing, race riots, vice, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, marital discord, desertion, non-support, truancy, stealing, and other crimes of major and minor importance are all terms describing problems well known to communities of every size and in every section of the country. These problems are symptoms which indicate the many aspects of man's unmet needs. Today we are part of a world at war, a war which might never have been perpetrated had these symptoms been understood and heeded. To ignore these symptoms is dangerous, but to treat the symptoms and to ignore the fundamental cause is, in the long run, useless. Herein lies the secret of the age-long presence of these problems as part of many varying kinds of social structures.

The problem of meeting individual and societal needs is complex and difficult. We have indicated that man is motivated by a yearning to belong to things, to man, and to God and that this yearning makes him want to have possessions, both human and material. This same desire makes him want to belong to all kinds of groups for all kinds of purposes. When man discovers that he cannot get what he wants by himself he allies himself with others to attain his purpose. It is not mere chance that the multiple group life of today is an accompaniment of an industrial system which has steadily reduced the importance of man's contribution to one comparable to the machine. Within groups, man has sought to retain his sense of importance and his place under the sun. Therefore, it is within the group that man can be helped in his struggle to build a society in which he can carve out for himself a balance of his needs which will assure him a reasonably satisfactory life and which will provide a dividend to society.

The approach to this problem must be twofold. On the one hand, it is necessary to realize that changing values is a long process and one that is not usually accomplished in the lifetime of any one generation; on the other hand, it is necessary to make all possible adjustments in the present system to insure as good a life as possible for the present generation. In both approaches to this problem group work service can be used to advantage. One cannot examine the life of any group without realizing its potentialities for affecting the attitudes and consequent values of its members. This quality of group interaction is the social force through which individual growth and development take place. It is also the means through which societal growth and change are accomplished. Group life is, then, essential to the normal growth both of the individual and of society.

While group life makes growth possible, it does not necessarily mean that any group life develops a happy, well-balanced individual or a democratic society. The quality of group life is the important factor. The quality of group life is dependent upon the set of values which are dominant ideals of the members and of society as a whole. Group work is a method by which group life is affected with reference to these values. We accept for purposes of discussion those personal values which are essential to the development of emotionally balanced, intellectually free, and physically fit individuals, those social values which make possible the functioning of these individuals in an economic, political, and social democracy. We therefore see group work as a process through which group life is influenced by a worker who consciously directs the interacting process toward the accomplishment of a social goal conceived in a democratic philosophy.

We recognize that one aspect of group work is that it is developmental; it is an essential experience for every individual's social growth. In its second aspect group work is protective. Many individuals are unable to find groups which meet their needs in the civic life of the average neighborhood. For these individuals social work agencies provide an essential service in a great variety of specialized groups. In its third aspect, group work is an instrument for the achievement of socially desirable goals.

In all groups these three aspects of group work are present. Whatever the age, if the group life is creative, personal development takes place. For most individuals the group and its leader offer certain elements of protection which enable the member to participate more effectively, and the content of the program offers opportunities for achievements of varying kinds of social goals. Several examples may be cited.

The group worker of the Tiny Tots helps a group of young children to learn how to play and work together. The children range in age from four to seven. They have weekly meetings at a settlement.¹ They are classified as a club, but their program is a combination of individual play, some coöperative endeavor, and, on only rare occasions, corporate behavior. An analysis of records of this group over a program year reveals an interesting shift of the proportion of time spent in the activities of these three classifications. In the beginning each "played dolls," or drew, or modeled side by side but was alone throughout the greater part of the weekly period. Games in which most of them participated were enjoyed, but this coöperative venture was under the leadership of the group worker. Gradually the activity grew more and more coöperative until by February the social development of the group had reached the stage where the children were able to develop a project which belonged to the whole group.

In the record we find that the group worker sees each member as a separate person with different needs. Sylvia, a youngster who did not participate in the group project, is seen throughout the record as needing to be a dominant, central figure. She is unhappy and frequently refuses to participate when the activity provides for no star part. In regard to program materials Sylvia, according to the record,

had a tendency to take more than the others had and to give it out to them. They watched her and once or twice complained to the group worker. Sylvia is a very active little girl who likes to organize things and run them in her own way.

Although she was older than the others, Sylvia did not have

¹ The material on the Tiny Tots was published in the *Day Nursery*, November, 1941.

as long an interest span as had most of the other children. The record reveals several instances in which she lost interest in some activities but was unwilling to surrender her part or materials to the other children. The group worker gave Sylvia a chance to teach games and provided other opportunities for an expression of Sylvia's need to direct. At the same time the worker safeguarded the opportunities for other members of the group. In the following excerpt there is some basis for thinking that Sylvia was getting some pressure at home to "grow up," faster, perhaps, than she was emotionally prepared:

Sylvia told group worker that her brother had bought her cut-outs for Christmas, but that her mother had given them to someone else because she was too old for them. Group worker asked her if she liked to play with them and Sylvia said she did "sometimes." Ruth laughed and said, "Miss B is bigger than you are and she's playing with them." This amused the others very much and they continued to talk about it for some time.

Here we see the group worker, who is an accepted adult in the eyes of these children, easing their feelings over the enjoyment they are experiencing in emotionally satisfying activities.

Margaret, on the other hand, participated in everything, but she always wanted to choose the game and be "it." If she was not granted these privileges, she whined and complained that "she never got a chance," yet she always stayed in the activity. She also resisted doing her part in cleaning up:

Group worker asked them to be sure that their crayons were put back in the boxes (the usual procedure). Margaret, the only one who still had her crayons out, said that she had to go home immediately. The group worker said nothing but silently insisted that it be done. Margaret put them away, however, then gave them to the group worker with a toss. Some of the children looked shocked and Margaret looked ashamed. Group worker smiled and said good-bye and Margaret seemed to get over her anger at having been made to put her crayons away.

Margaret was struggling to grow up and to feel grown up by dominating the activities of her playmates and defying the authority of an adult. At the same time she was fearful and in need of acceptance from adults. The group worker was fulfilling a vital

need for Margaret when she limited her and yet at the same time was able to accept her fully. The members of the group helped her in the same way when they disapproved of her behavior but counted her in as one of the vital members of the group.

In the Tiny Tots we see children who are able to use the group worker as an understanding adult in their process of working out their feelings about the rules and regulations of society as interpreted to them at home and at school. Through group work service these children are helped, not only to enjoy individual play, but to move on to the next big step, to join others in working out coöperative play in which each merges his part into a whole which includes all of them. At their age this coöperative action is significant, not only for them, but for society.

The Q & V Club is a group of older children, girls ranging in age from ten to fourteen years. All the girls are Italian and all but one are enrolled in two Catholic schools in the neighborhood. They all live on the same street. The club is dominated by the president, Mary, who was accepted by the other members partly because of her position and partly because of the girls' dread of her outburst of temper when her will is challenged. When games are played she demands, and is permitted to be, "it." She decides when business meetings should start. She vetoes plans unless she makes the suggestions. She makes coöperative group life impossible:

Mary hammered mightily with her gavel and called for the officer's report. Then decided they would play a game. Antoinette popped up with a suggestion of "Telephone." Mary and others roared "No," but group worker asked them to listen to Antoinette while she explained the game. Mary augmented her gavel beating with loud shouts of "Hey, the president's talking, ya hafta shut up." Before they tired of the game group worker asked, "How would you like to learn a new game?" Mary replied, "We know too many already. We don't want no new ones. I'm next, I choose."

The leader of this group is unusually effective in program planning. She possesses a great variety of skills and is able to integrate them into all kinds of attractive programs suited to girls of this age. She was greatly disturbed by the hostile, aggressive behavior

of Mary. This behavior stimulated her to do more elaborate program planning. Record follows record of excellent program suggestions made by the leader, all based on some expressed interest of Mary or of other members of the group. The better the program plan, the more hostile Mary became.

The group worker was faced with a twofold problem: how to help Mary feel less hostile and to express her hostility in other ways, and how to protect the group from Mary's destructive behavior. For six weeks the worker attempted to solve these problems through the medium of the program. All the best-known devices were used. At the same time she accepted Mary's hostile behavior without reproach. For a group of isolated, unsophisticated, culturally limited children the program was dazzling, but it all fell flat before the hostile attacks of Mary.

Then the leader began really to use her understanding of people and to interpret the symptoms of behavior which were being dramatized before her. She realized that all these children were at the age when adults are usually considered enemies and that children tend to band together against adults. Furthermore, most adults demand polite and respectful treatment from children. But she was different, she gave every evidence of liking them, and they dared to be naughty and to criticize her without fear of retaliation. However, she also realized that they were unaccustomed to expressing such marked hostility to adults and that along with release there was also guilt for expressing their feelings. She realized too that her continuous passive acceptance had undoubtedly increased their anxieties and that she had not been as helpful as she might have been had she been as firm in her legitimate limitations as she had been free in her acceptance of their naughty behavior. This thinking began to be reflected in the way in which she handled individuals and group interaction. There was a change in the way in which she handled Mary. After the group worker had exhausted all the program devices and Mary was still negative in all her reactions she began to think more about Mary and less about the program. As she concentrated on Mary and suggestions from Mary were followed, things began to go more smoothly. Mary had to be the most dominant person in the

group. The leader had too many ideas—Mary regarded the leader as a rival—and instead of helping Mary, the leader had been making her fight more and more for her position as the source of all power.

The affairs of the group went much more smoothly the rest of the year as the group worker improved in her skill to base her part in the group's activity upon her understanding of the meaning of the behavior symptoms instead of trying to meet these symptoms with a diverting program. Mary continued to dominate, but other members got more opportunity to use the group for their own purposes as Mary's need to rival the leader became less. But Mary's strong drive for power was still there; its source lay, not in the club, but within Mary herself. Her relationship with the leader was a helpful one, for after the group worker became aware of the rivalry which existed between them, she was able genuinely to accept Mary, and Mary developed with the group worker a relationship that was positive and coöperative as well as negative and hostile.

Here we see the service of the group worker in protecting the group life of the club for the members through her handling of the dominant member. Because of this protection each of the members was able to use the group for social growth.

Often an event in community life will occasion recognition of the effects of group work service which might otherwise be unnoticed. In one community the whole city became concerned over a fight which occurred between a gang of colored boys and a gang of white boys. The quarrel arose within the high school, between a white student monitor and a colored boy whom he tried to discipline. The quarrel soon gained such proportions that police interference caused the newspapers to describe the situation as a race riot. Agencies, community councils, civic clubs, prominently interested citizens, went into action. In the meantime group workers from the community settlement and the boys' clubs were mingling in the milling crowd, speaking to the boys here and there. Practically all the boys were club members. The second day one of the gang leaders went to a group worker and asked if they could have a meeting in the settlement, with no

adults present. Permission was granted. Into the assembly hall of the settlement, which for years had pursued an interracial policy both in its membership and in its staff appointments, poured white and colored boys. The boy leader appointed a secretary, and from the minutes of this remarkable meeting we discover how much these boys had learned of the group processes through which conflict can be solved. Discussion was free and frank. The boys said that the quarrel had gone farther than they intended. They were concerned over the mounting community feeling. They had started the fight—they must end it. But they couldn't end it by just calling it off. "It must have a dramatic ending" was the opinion oft repeated. Finally, they worked out speeches and public hand shaking to take place in front of the school. The police, school faculty, and agency workers were invited. It is of importance to note that throughout these three critical days the clubs and classes in the settlement, composed of colored and white boys, had continued to carry on harmonious meetings. Group work service to this community cannot be estimated in attendance figures or budget totals. It is invested in the lives of the youngsters of the neighborhood.

The Heigh-Ho Club came into the agency in 1933 as a group of boys who lived in the same neighborhood and played together, having met in each other's homes or on street corners for some time. The boys were twelve and thirteen years of age and wanted to enroll their club in order to use the facilities of the agency.² The group functioned mostly as a basketball team; the members were together most of the time at school or at the "Y" and they had become very ingrown. As the boys grew older, however, some of them moved to new neighborhoods, others attended different schools, and finally, when most of them graduated from high school, some enrolled at college while others found employment.

The worker who began to lead this club in 1939 found himself in the midst of a group which had lost its original purpose because of the developmental growth of its members without a con-

² Some of this material is taken from Bernard Ross, *The Leader's Role in Social Education* (1941), a thesis of the School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

current development in club program. Divergent interests pulled the members away to new associations, yet for sentimental reasons they clung tenaciously to the club and would not think of disbanding. Conflict, poor attendance, and flat programs ensued. For the first time in the history of the club there was no basketball team. The meetings consisted largely of bickering and a great deal of discussion over non-consequential subjects. There were twelve members of the club, nine of whom were original members.

Through the record of this tempestuous group we see the group worker quietly working with each boy, sometimes within the group and sometimes through individual contacts. It is significant that the group worker did not accept a general explanation of their behavior, such as that these were the problems of adolescence, and let it go at that. He learned to know each boy and his particular set of problems. He found one boy whose anxieties seemed to lie chiefly in a struggle with his family over his vocational choice; another boy was all mixed up about sex. He found that one boy sensed cultural differences between himself and many of the others and was therefore uncomfortable. Little by little the group worker came to understand the deeper meaning of the explosive behavior of the members, and as he understood some of the underlying causes he was more able to help each individually and to guide the social processes more adequately and, therefore, more satisfying activities resulted. The group worker realized that while to an outsider it might seem that the group had no reason to continue, it was providing something which was important to the members.

In 1940 the club planned to hold its annual banquet in a certain downtown restaurant only to discover that there was labor trouble there and a picket line was in operation.

Joe said, "Oh well, by the time we get there the strike will be over." Mark said, "It's the only place that is suitable." The group worker said, "Nevertheless, we're making the contract while the strike is on. I believe that we ought to find out what the strike is about before we make our decision." The boys were obviously reluctant to override the group worker, although it was apparent that the strike had no real meaning to them. Mark said, "What should we do? Forget about it and pick another place?" The group worker replied, "All strikes

aren't necessarily justified. I believe that we ought to have a committee to investigate this and make our decision at the next meeting." . . . Mark was appointed to make the investigation.

When the next club meeting occurred no one had made any investigation, and the discussion proceeded as if the restaurant had not been questioned. When the group worker asked about it they claimed that they had forgotten all about it. After much discussion the group worker suggested that he and Mark make the investigation and report back to the next meeting. This was allowed, although neither Mark nor the others was impressed with the idea.

By the next meeting Mark and the group worker had investigated the strike and were able to give particulars concerning both sides of the dispute. The Union claimed that the waitresses had come to them with a request for help in obtaining the prevailing wage. The girls were told that nothing could be done unless they joined the Union. However, if they did, the Union would support them. This was done, but before a conference with the employer could be arranged one of the girls told the employer, whereupon all the girls were dismissed. At this point both the Union and the National Labor Relations Board were involved and the restaurant was being picketed.

The employer's point of view was . . . that the girls were incompetent and trouble makers and that the restaurant would go on as usual even if the club did not patronize it. There was much discussion after these reports were given. The issue was drawn between supporting the girls in their struggle for adequate wages or the employer in his claims of their incompetency. There was a unanimous decision that the banquet not be held at this restaurant. The group worker had in the meantime investigated a number of other restaurants and was therefore prepared to submit a new list. . . . From this list they chose one which they considered highly satisfactory.

The interest in labor created by this incident continued throughout the year, sometimes expressed in incidental discussions in club meeting and sometimes in planned programs when the boys became interested in the question of the ethics of striking in a defense industry. Slowly the club meetings took on meaning to these young men. The group worker had been able to lead them, step by step, from a group situation which was blocking their growth by permitting them to remain on an adolescent level

into a new relationship on a more adult level. He accomplished this through working with individuals and through affecting the social processes within the group. In both capacities he used his understanding of the motivations of human behavior and the dynamics of the social process.

We have said that all human beings need to have opportunities to grow up free to make choices which will make it possible for them to secure a living, establish a home, rear children, enjoy leisure, and feel at home in the universe. With this concept of the basic need of people let us study the records of the Fathers' Club, which was organized in May, 1933, and is still in existence. The personnel has changed during these nine years, but many of the founders are active today in the club, in the settlement, and in community organizations of various kinds.

The impetus for organization of the Fathers' Club came one night when the Mothers' Club was entertaining the husbands.³ Mr. Fillipino approached a member of the staff with the question, "What's the matter with the fathers? Are they orphans?" The staff member assured Mr. Fillipino that if he knew some other fathers who would be interested in having a club, a club could be started. The next week about twenty men assembled, and the Fathers' Club was created. Most of the men were unemployed; not until the war did this condition materially change. WPA jobs substituted for relief checks, short-time unskilled labor jobs supplemented with other short-time jobs around election time, describe the work history of many of the members. There are, however, some who have trades and small businesses of their own. None of them have reached an economic level where they have much choice about the work they do.

The members' main contact with political life is through the ward politician, who is looked upon as a source of at least the promise of jobs. They belong to political clubs, but these clubs mean a place to play cards, an occasional party, and a chance to know the right person who might find one a job. In these clubs

³ Some of this material is taken from Agnita G. Wright, *Education for Democracy in an Adult Club*, a thesis of the School of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Pittsburgh.

they have no hand in making decisions. Some of the men belong to benefit lodges, but here there are practically perpetual officers and the other members have little share in the lodge affairs.

In addition to the lack of opportunity for participation in democratically governed groups the men live in an ingrown section of the city. Shopping, social affairs, and amusements are all carried on in the immediate neighborhood. Most of the fathers were born in Italy, and many of them brought families of half-grown children with them when they came to this country. The majority have large families and live in small, inadequate houses. There is little opportunity for family recreation in the neighborhood. Most of the fathers belong to the Catholic church, and some of the more prosperous ones send their children to parochial schools. Pool rooms and liquor joints provide handouts but offer little opportunity for these men to express their need to participate with others in communal projects. They responded to Mr. Fillipino's suggestion of a club of their own because they needed to belong to something. They were not aware of their longing to participate in a democracy, but they were aware that life was not very satisfying. They also were vaguely aware of a desire to be American. Americans symbolized success; the staff of the settlement were Americans, therefore they looked to them for guidance and direction. This distance between the American staff and the Italian club members had its disadvantages as well as its advantages, for it frequently slowed up the social process within the group because of the members' exaggerated opinion of the force and importance of staff approval or disapproval.

The organization of the club went off smoothly. Although the men were unaccustomed to group activity, they fell quite easily into the already existing pattern of House clubs. They chose as their name, the Fathers' Club. They named their purpose, that of helping the settlement. When asked what they wanted to do they listed swimming, games, cards, picnics, and singing. The group worker later recorded:

Singing is free, joyous and vigorous. . . . Swimming promises to be a regular activity. They are entirely unafraid of water, play like little

boys, laugh all the time. . . . All but one are unable to swim. The group worker is teaching them.

During the first year and a half the members struggled to work out a way of club life which would provide coöperative activity. The members wanted group solidarity and at the same time they resisted giving up any of their own ideas and desires. The following quotation gives evidences of significant attitudes within the group:

"We have to talk about the parents' party," began the President, "but we can leave it all up to the group worker." "No, no," answered the group worker, "don't leave anything up to me. This Thursday evening there will be a meeting of the Fathers' Club executive committee with that of the Mothers' Club. These committees will make plans for the party, they know what they like to do. . . ." Nati asked archly, "Ice cream is only for kids, huh?" The group worker said no, that the settlement would provide ice cream. Nati exclaimed, "What, fathers too?"

During the first two years a growth process was evident. Although the group had never really verbalized the underlying conflict of adjustment between the function of the officers and the function of the membership they grew in their understanding of what was expected from that relationship. They grew to the point where they strongly resented what they considered an infringement of their rights in making a group decision. They grew in a feeling of self-confidence to the point where they felt their own authority over their officers. They grew in their desire to make their own decisions.

City election time rolled around. One of the members had a friend running for a minor office, could he bring him to speak before the club? The discussion was heated as they argued as to whether they should let politics enter their club. The matter of who was elected and the relationship which this election had upon their lives did not seem to be part of their thinking, yet this club by now provided the most vital organizational relationship which any of them had. Politics, to these men, was something to fear and to stay away from. Society had done nothing to make them feel that they were really a part of the determining force in gov-

ernment. The group worker was consulted and suggested that it would be helpful, not only to hear the candidate, but also to hear other candidates in order that the fathers might have a better idea how to vote in the primaries. After much more discussion the group worker's suggestion was accepted and different members were appointed to invite other candidates or their representatives.

From that point on the Fathers' Club has taken a lively interest in public affairs. Social action on issues of local, state, national, and international importance resulting from discussion and forums is taken for granted as part of the club program. Special study committees which are appointed to report back to the club with recommendation for action are now a familiar tool to them. These special committees have included studies on adequacy of relief grants, cost of transportation, garbage collection, unemployment insurance, and many other topics. One committee visited the Board of Education to discuss a problem related to the education of their children.

The group worker was at least somewhat responsible for this development. He was sensitive to the problem of leadership and consciously or not he used rather consistent methods in dealing with it. In the first place, he built up many individual contacts with the members so that there was a general rapport between him and the group, which of course laid the foundation for valid and effective work. In the second place, he did what he could to introduce and strengthen activities which brought real enjoyment. Thus the members were gradually developing a program about which they really cared enough to want to plan. Lastly, he used every opportunity in the club meeting to lend his support to informal organization, free discussion, etc. These consistent policies were gradually helping the fathers to feel that they had rights and that they need not be afraid to express themselves in the group. The group worker was content to work slowly and to stay within the comprehension of the members. He kept himself in close touch with the reality of the thinking and feeling within the group.

During the last year and a half the attitude of the members to-

ward their club and the settlement has been in the process of change. Previously the club had existed exclusively for the purpose of meeting the personal interests of the fathers. In the past they seemed to get childish pleasure out of parties, games, dramatics, and dancing. They strove to achieve recognition for the club in all sorts of ways. They exhibited great enthusiasm in planning the food for their parties. Games in which they could personally triumph were their favorites. This group of middle-aged men was using the club as young adolescent boys might. We are reminded of the comment of Margaret Lowenfeld in *Play in Childhood*:

Play is to a child, therefore, work, thought, art, and relaxation, and cannot be pressed into any single formula. It expresses a child's relation to himself and his environment, and, without adequate opportunity for play, normal and satisfactory emotional development is not possible.

. . . any individual in whose early life these necessary opportunities for adequate play have been lacking will inevitably go on seeking them in the stuff of adult life. Though he must do this, he will be unaware of what he is seeking. Emotional satisfactions, which the mind has missed at the period to which they properly belong, do not present themselves later in the same form. The forces of destruction, aggression and hostile emotion, which form so powerful an element for good or evil in human character, can display themselves fully in the play of childhood, and become through this expression integrated into the controlled and conscious personality. Forces unrealized in childhood remain as an inner drive forever seeking outlet, and lead men to express them not any longer in play, since this is regarded as an activity of childhood, but in industrial competition, anarchy, and war.

After ten years the members of the Fathers' Club are participating in the Parents' Council of the settlement, serving on committees with staff members, planning neighborhood programs which will meet certain problems of the boys and girls. The fathers are now advising the staff about neighborhood attitudes and taking responsibility for interpreting the settlement to certain nonparticipating groups. A community council is in the process of organization. The settlement is one of the interested agencies. The council is being fostered by the Federation of Social Agencies.

Members of the Fathers' Club are functioning on committees of this new enterprise and are prepared to do so. When the civilian defense organization began, the fathers put their shoulders to the wheel. They attended all the meetings in the district. They took an active part in inducing the men and women of the neighborhood to register. One of the members of the Fathers' Club is the air-raid warden for the district. The fathers are now better able to assume their role as parents and neighborhood leaders because they have less need to play for their own satisfaction.

In each of these groups the group worker has functioned in a professional capacity with individuals and with groups. In each case we have noted that the group worker attempted to understand the personality of each member, and that he used that understanding in his direction of the social process within the group. We observed that members were helped by participation in the process. It is important to point out that no group worker gave more than incidental individualized service, that they did not meet any of the specific needs of the individuals with whom they worked. But they did attempt, and in some degree succeeded, to help individuals to use the group for their own growth and development, and as a result the individuals were enabled more effectively to meet their own needs. Complete analysis of these records reveals use of community agencies through referrals made possible by the group worker. Direct service for specific needs was thus made possible. However, the service provided by the group work agency was the *group experience* in which each member, whatever his age or his particular need, was respected and, consequently, was helped to achieve his "place under the sun."

Group work, then, is a method of working with individuals and their relationships in groups. This method is employed by many different kinds of agencies for many different purposes. There are, however, two purposes which seem to be part of the objectives of all agencies which offer group work services. One is that of helping the individual, and the other is that of helping the group to achieve some socially desirable purpose. The group worker whose function it is to help the members of the group, not only to have satisfactory relationships, but also to engage in

group activity of social significance, must be thoroughly oriented in a basic understanding of man, the society he has created, and the new directions for continuing the changing social structure of that society. To have this knowledge is not sufficient; he must also be able to use his knowledge in the helping process of group work. The group worker helps individuals and groups as he participates in the group life of the members. The quality of this help is dependent upon the group worker's understanding of individual and social processes and his knowledge, experience, and convictions concerning the social, economic, political, and religious needs of mankind.

An examination of practice reveals that the media which the group worker uses have many forms, such as arts and crafts, dramatics, music, pottery, photography, nature study, games, woodwork, sewing, dancing, sports, public affairs—civic, national and international—home management, nursing, first-aid, pre- and postnatal care, care of babies, sex information, discussion of problems of religion and labor, and other interests known to the human being. These media are carried on in club programs, classes, workshops, forums, discussion groups, special board and committee meetings, camps, clinics, and other organizational patterns. The value of the content and organizational form to the individual who is using them to meet his need is dependent upon the quality of the process of which the individual is a part. The individual may gain some help from learning a new skill. He may gain some help from belonging to a group. But if he belongs to a group in which he learns, not only a new skill, but also how to participate in the direction of the group's program and through the stimulation of other members and of the leader, this program is related to his own personal need and to the world outside himself and his club; he has then been part of a group work process which has helped the individual meet his personal need and also has helped society to meet its need.

Every individual needs to feel important. Many things tend to lessen his feelings of importance, and therefore they create within him feelings which interfere with his own happiness and that of those about him. For the very young child this feeling of impor-

tance is related almost entirely to his mother. He is happy if he is loved and accepted by her. He is miserable if for any reason he feels rejected. As he grows older other people and groups become the source of his security, but his state of mind is still affected by his feeling of acceptance by whatever center or centers he regards as satisfying to his self-esteem. When there is occasion to doubt acceptance an individual may become angry and resentful and jealous of others who seem to be more favored. These feelings are expressed by varying degrees of aggressive, hostile behavior or in shy, withdrawn behavior, both of which only tend to make his relationships with others more difficult, and therefore his self-esteem grows lower. This is a vicious circle and one in which all human beings are more or less caught at various times in their lives. Through group work service individuals may be helped to break this vicious circle.

The group worker realizes that it is important to help the aggressive, hostile person to recognize that it is natural to feel aggressive and that it is natural to feel hostile and that expression of hostility is also natural, but that other members of society also have hostile feelings and everyone cannot have a free rein in such expression. The group worker is able to help normal individuals to recognize their hostile feelings and to handle them. The group worker must also be able to recognize in the individual expressions of hostility which have a deeper source and be prepared to refer these people to the proper therapist. He also recognizes that the shy, withdrawn person is probably repressing a great deal which had better be expressed for his own and society's welfare. Here too the group worker needs to distinguish between the degree of withdrawnness which he is prepared to help release and that which needs the more skilled therapist.

Knowledge of social process and experience in using it for achieving democratic life are tools which every man should have if he is to be able to meet his own and society's needs. "Social process" is merely a term describing the fact that interaction takes place through reciprocal interpersonal relations. However, this fact is perhaps one of the most important facts about life itself, because it is the quality of the social process which deter-

mines the fate of mankind. Shall this process be one in which the responses are in compliance with orders and submission to the person or persons who are the symbols of a dominant minority? Or shall this process be one in which all participate on a basis of reciprocal relationships and in which the responses are those of acceptance, of personal responsibility for private and public affairs? This responsibility involves ability to make and carry out decisions as well as willingness to delegate authority to fellow citizens. Social process is the means by which individual and societal ends are achieved. At this stage in the world's history the means are of greater importance than the ends, because it is the means which determine the ends. It is, therefore, important that everyone have as many constructive experiences in self-governing groups as possible.

In group work the leader seeks to help the members of groups to learn how to use the social process for the attainment of their individual needs and those of society. What the leader does is not as important as how he does it. In evaluating the leadership of any group worker it is important to discover whether the worker is aware of the needs as well as the expressed interests of each of the members. Is he seeing these in terms of the individual's whole need, physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual? Does he see how important it is to society that each child or adult shall have an opportunity to function in the decision-making process of the group? Does the worker use every opportunity to connect each group with other groups in the agency and in the community? In all these relationships is the worker providing stimulation and encouragement to the members in the use of their own abilities, in the formation of their own purposes and those of society? Are the individuals being helped to become increasingly aware of society's needs as well as of their own?

The group worker realizes that much in the culture of today tends to deprive the individual of relationships which would satisfy his need of self-esteem—particularly nationality and racial prejudice, limitation of economic opportunities, religious bigotry, political intrigue, geographic isolation, and general intellectual and emotional confusion. The group worker recognizes that the

process of growing up and moving into larger relationships is difficult under any circumstances and that growing up in the culture of today is made more difficult because of the intensity of the present world-wide situation. He further recognizes that the responsibility of meeting this need is shared by every social institution and individual concerned with man's and society's needs. There are many methods and many avenues of approach. Here we are discussing a method of working with individuals which integrates an understanding of the basic needs of man with the use of the social process. The group work method is needed by people of all ages, all nationalities, all races, and by those of all economic levels. It is a method through which human beings are helped to a realization of their own capacities to unite with others in the struggle for freedom to create a better world in which to live.

THE FOUR STUDY GROUPS

Miss Wilson's paper provided the framework by which each study group could identify actual specific and community needs and outline the program and personnel requirements. In so doing, the groups developed a picture of community conditions which inevitably brought them to the whole problem of community organization. It became evident that social planning was an essential prerequisite to the formulation of a program in any given agency. Coördination of agency services was emphatically indicated.

In the main, no formal papers were prepared. The material was collectively developed by the participants through group discussion. The treatment in each varies. One group achieved the integration and specific formulation of needs, program and personnel, thus developing a well-rounded picture. The report of a second group was weighted with social, economic, and other data. A third gave a major portion of its attention to community organization, while the deliberations of the fourth were in more or less general terms. Common to all groups was the process of interaction and collective thinking—a process that grew to be coördinate in importance with the actual findings, at least in terms of the professional growth of the participants.

A RURAL COUNTY IN THE DEEP SOUTH

Here is a typical Deep South rural county, an area measuring twenty-four by thirty miles, with a population of 33,000, of which 20 percent are Negro and 80 percent white. For years the farmers of the county followed the one-crop plan of agriculture. Today most of their land is badly depleted because of erosion and because of that one-crop system. The large plantation farms were located on the good land in the southern part of the county, while the tenant farmers and share croppers, with large, poverty-stricken families, lived in the northern part. Before 1880 the chief products were sheep and turpentine; from 1880 to 1916 the chief product was cotton; from 1916 to 1936 it was cotton or peanuts. Economic conditions for the farmers have been so bad that they never realized a profit. Inadequate living standards were inevitable.

The average resident of the county had never gone beyond three and a half grades of school, and only 10 percent of the children who entered school were able to finish. In this county the school year was but seven months long, yet rarely had there been sufficient funds to keep the schools open the full period. The average salary of teachers was \$710 per annum, as compared to New York State, with an average of \$2,494. (The national average is \$1,417 per annum.)

It was found that 40 percent of the people went to church, and of this number 50 percent live in the good-land area of the county. Only 15 percent of the population were voters in the county elections. Recreation consisted of going to revival meetings, funerals, and, in the summer, peanut-shelling parties. Commercial recreation was limited to "juke joints," where beer and liquor were sold.

From the standpoint of health the picture was depressing. In 1924 the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 72.8. In 1940, after four years of county council health work, the rate was reduced to 46.5. The 1924 maternal death rate per 1,000 live births was estimated to be 68.2; in 1932 the rate had increased to 83.4; and in 1940 it had decreased to 45.3. The county had a low tuberculosis rate; however, there had been a great deal of pellagra, anemia, rickets, and other diseases allied with malnutrition. Sani-

tary conditions were bad. Open wells and unsanitary toilets were common; few homes were screened. Sixty-two percent of the school children were suffering from hookworm. Malaria, typhoid, and hookworm were prevalent throughout the northern part of the area. Most of the people of the county lived and died without ever consulting a physician. Instead, they called in midwives and "conjure" doctors. The county has the state's highest percentage of physically handicapped children. Most of these children were crippled as a result of birth injuries. Inaccessibility to services and lack of funds for medical and dental care have been serious handicaps to securing necessary treatment.

In 1936 the Government acquired by purchase most of the land in the northern areas of the county, where pine forestation has been started. Families who could be persuaded to move to the good land were given loans, and a work plan to improve their condition was initiated.

There had been seven Federal and state social workers in the county; this number was later increased to twenty-five, including two county agents, two home agents, seven (one Negro) vocational agents, seven (one Negro) vocational home economics teachers, three nurses, one public welfare worker, one recreation worker, and the Federal Security personnel. These workers organized a council so that the specific services offered to the community might be integrated into a total program. Maps and other pertinent data were studied, following which the total program of each government service was outlined. Each worker was fully cognizant of the program of every other worker; thus misinformation and a consequent lack of coöperation were avoided. The county workers represented an especially well-trained, sincere, professional group. They were aware of the prejudices and suspicions of the county, and yet they worked together to improve the education and the economic condition of the population.

Three new schools—one vocational and two regular, with vocational programs—have been established. The county levied a three-mill tax for the assistance of this program. The workers began a school-lunch project which greatly helped in solving the nutrition problems of the children of school age. The educational

curriculum was adapted to the needs of farm and home, and families were urged to send their children to school.

A great deal was accomplished in the field of medical care. The council set up a health association and families paid a fee for medical service. In 1940 the fifteen health association doctors were called to the homes of 300 families who had never before had a physician in their home. Families were educated as to sanitation, vaccination, and cleanliness. With three nurses to serve the county, it was possible to provide more prenatal and home care. Nutrition experts worked in the homes as well as in the schools. It is significant that the entire council worked coöperatively on the health problems.

The public welfare staff consisted of one worker and one stenographer, and there was a daily average of 300 calls at the office. Even though grants-in-aid were very low, the people appreciated the assistance, which helped them to coöperate with other council services. About 80 percent of the public welfare cases came from the poor-land section of the county.

Farm Security Administration workers introduced scientific agriculture to farmers who had farmed one crop for years. As a result, 600 families who previously had been unable to secure a bank loan were able to avail themselves of a Federal loan, produce some crops from their land, and repay their loan, enjoying a profit from their labor for the first time. The farm agent coöperated with the schools in working out arithmetic projects geared to farm projects, taught farmers how to grade eggs, and coöperated with the county nutritionists by urging the people to eat more eggs and to sell at a profit what they could not use themselves. Farmers were supplied with livestock, chickens, and seed for vegetable gardens. The unfenced farms were cleared and gardens were fenced. The farmers began to take more pride in their homes and, since their health had been improved through sanitation and better diets, they could enjoy working their farms.

The Council found that except for undesirable forms of commercial recreation in the towns, no recreation existed for the rural residents of the county. Since they regarded recreation as second in importance to health, the county workers attacked the

problem. The first step was to select buildings where the recreation programs could be held. For the most part schools were used, and the FSA workers purchased lanterns so that the one-room school buildings might be available for evening use. A WPA recreation worker was secured, and she in turn trained eleven additional workers in recreation leadership. This year, 155 recreational meetings have been held in the county, with an attendance of 9,752 people.

At first the people were not interested, and members of the council staff coöperated in bringing them to the meetings. Now they will walk five miles to a recreation program, even in cotton-picking time. There are some signs of organization within the recreation groups. The family groups at each school elect their own leader and programs are planned with the help of the recreation worker. All the families within the radius of a few miles are notified of the meetings by mail, and those who do not attend are subsequently informed of what occurred at the meeting.

These were the achievements of a county council of workers representing different agencies. The accomplishments grew out of a coördination of functions by the formation of a council, the assembling of data on total needs, and a unified approach to meet those needs.

A SMALL TOWN LOCATED IN A MILITARY AREA IN THE DEEP SOUTH

The *Saturday Evening Post* recently characterized this Deep South town as a "den of iniquity." A small, fairly self-sufficient town, it had a population of 25,000 before the coming of the construction workers and the soldiers. The community, predominantly Protestant, had strong Roman Catholic and Jewish minorities. There was a constant intermingling of these groups, and the community life was characterized as having a "cosmopolitan spirit." There were no dramatic social problems, no evidences of major labor problems. Since the town was an agricultural center, there was, of course, a share-cropper population near by.

The town had city council government and its own public utilities. The Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, social and fraternal organizations, and one or two labor organizations

were active. The schools were administered through state and parish boards of education. There were many churches and two small hospitals. The state Department of Public Welfare served the community. There was a Work Projects Administration organization in playground work and nursery schools.

Civic leaders worked hard, with the coming of the war, for the establishment of military camps in their area. The community was organized to receive the troops, and there was a distinct let-down when, instead of men in uniform, 30,000 construction workers arrived. The usual antilabor attitudes were revealed in the community—these “high-paid” workers were not the people they were organized to help. The plumbers’ union had difficulty in finding a place to meet.

In October, 1940, the first contingent of soldiers arrived. At present there are four camps within sixteen miles of the town, and the soldier population has risen to 100,000. The community met its responsibilities as best it could. Churches threw open their doors; a citizens’ committee directed activities, and a recreation center was established and supported by the community. It was realized that there was an outstanding need for recreation so far as the soldiers were concerned. While facilities were available, there was difficulty in getting a program under way. Help was sought from a near-by large city from which “experts” were called in to train local volunteers.

Meanwhile, the inevitable problems incident to the rapid influx of both soldiers and civilians were arising. The civilian population alone had risen to between fifty-five and sixty thousand, presenting an almost impossible absorption situation for a normal community of 25,000.

Housing proved wholly inadequate. In normal times 60 percent of the city’s houses were substandard; 90 percent of these were without essential facilities. (It was thought that this situation was largely due to the relatively high Negro population.) With the housing shortage trailer parks were filled and shacks and chicken houses were utilized. Rents skyrocketed. After the construction period was largely over, 1,352 new families moved in. The Army controlled the rent for its own employees, but that did not pro-

tect civilians. Private enterprise in housing was lacking, due to fear of a postwar ghost town. A fair rent committee had no controls and an intolerable situation was forced on the community's poorest people. While the Federal Government program has helped, housing is still a problem.

The schools were inadequate, facing the absorption of 900 new pupils. Government aid has increased facilities and added thirty-nine teachers.

Sanitation facilities were insufficient, and it was necessary to extend water mains and provide better disposal of sewage. Again, government grants have helped. Hospital facilities are still over-taxed; the military hospitals are inadequate, so that soldiers are brought in to the community. Five hundred and fifty additional hospital beds are still needed, and there is a shortage of both doctors and nurses.

Venereal disease has become a serious problem, reaching epidemic proportions among the Negro population. The known houses of ill fame have been closed. However, coöperation between Army and community has not been too good in combating the situation.

The police force could not cope with the new situation. The jail, twenty-five years old, is now used for approximately four thousand prisoners a month. Instances were cited in which eighteen people were confined in one cell; young girls with prostitutes, young boys with oldtimers. In the early days of the emergency, the girl friends of enlisted men were sometimes arrested as street walkers, put into prison, and marriage forced on them before they could be released.

The local population suffered dislocation when families were, perforce, moved from the artillery ranges. Dependency increased with the induction of breadwinners into the Army and Navy. The increased population brought unemployment; construction workers have not moved on. Juveniles are employed in questionable jobs, and there is poor enforcement of the labor laws. To add to the general situation, living costs have increased 22 percent.

Recreation continued to be an outstanding problem, for the early efforts of the community proved inadequate. A FSA repre-

sentative studied the situation and the units of the United Service Organization followed. There are now four recreation buildings, with an organized program which under normal conditions "would have taken a generation to develop." Nevertheless, commercial recreation still attracts the majority.

Several specific problem-areas were uncovered. There were inadequate recreational services for the army's civilian population of nurses, clerks, and laundresses. There was a shortage of girls for dances; only 300 were available for a possible five thousand soldiers who might want to dance at any given time. The need for individual counseling for women and girl newcomers became marked, and was met by an intelligent attempt to integrate them into the Red Cross and other local defense activities. A further problem was the short-term nature of group contacts.

In the discussion centering around ways of resolving these problems brought on by the war, the need for coördination of services became quite clear. Community organization was called for, even in this small city, to avoid duplication and to further more effective service. But whose is the responsibility? There were fears that "outside" leadership through the U.S.O. or the FSA would tend to make local leaders withdraw. On the other hand, convictions were expressed that local volunteers should be brought strongly into the picture; that professional workers alone could not do the job; that resistance to outside leadership could be softened by better interpretation of their place and function; and, finally, that there is better response to a coördinated program when no one agency assumes the leadership.

The question of strategy was posed. How can needed results in community organization be secured without arousing resentment because of nonlocal intervention? They could be achieved by involving local leadership so completely that they will regard the project as their own. However, the inadequacy of local leadership was stressed: their inability to see the significance of new problems, and their tendency to meet them with older patterns of relationships.

It was felt that these wartime problems, on the whole, were not new, but rather were an intensification of already existing prob-

lems. Transplanted people bring to their new community the same basic needs that motivate the established residents.

A final question concerned the participation of soldiers in program planning for their own activities in the U.S.O. program and in the total life of the community. Problems related to the impermanence of such soldier leadership were indicated. It seemed unfortunate that in a democracy, the armed forces had no well-developed plan for representation, for articulating their attitudes and needs with respect to leisure time.

A LARGE CITY ON THE WEST COAST IN A COMBAT AREA

Here is a Western city that has changed considerably since Pearl Harbor. Prewar migration to this city was comprised of tourists, retired businessmen, and Eastern families seeking a new home. The new migration is made up of workers in defense industries, members of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps. There is also emigration; the evacuation of thousands of Japanese, citizens and aliens alike. This city is in the combat area: blackouts; anti-aircraft stations; military encampments in the parks; bomb shelters for planes; searchlights scanning the sky; training camp activities of the Office of Civilian Defense, the Red Cross, and diverse war efforts engaging thousands of volunteers; U.S.O. hospitality centers, housing projects; curfew for enemy aliens.

Tire rationing is beginning to be felt. The city spreads over a large geographic area, and the transportation system has been built on a maximum use of the automobile. A staff member of an agency operating on a city-wide basis often covers twenty or thirty miles between office and group meetings. The agencies are giving serious thought to a greater decentralization of their programs. One agency, by moving its central office from the downtown area, saves seven miles of travel per day.

There are other effects of the war. According to one report,

Our girls of junior high school and high school age are seriously preparing themselves to meet emergency situations. They are interested in learning to cook. They are busy sewing for the Red Cross. They are learning to take care of children and are carrying greater household responsibilities, to be ready to give such service if need be.

The boys sixteen and over, on the other hand, are showing tendencies of restlessness. They are finding it more difficult to stay at the normal activities for boys of that age—they definitely show an attitude of "what's the use? We better get our fun while we can. We don't know what will happen." And the young boys are seriously playing at war.

The extraordinary needs growing out of the war situation can, it is believed, be met in part by a program which will generate a feeling of security, train for the meeting of emergencies, provide for participation in civilian defense, and sustain morale. However, this program should not undermine the normal services and standards of the agency, according to the consensus of the members of the Group Work Division of this city, who have expressed themselves quite clearly on this point. They believe that group workers have a responsibility to see that youth does not lose the desire for, and the skill in, group action, quiet and sound deliberation, and the respect for the rights and views of their fellow citizens. Through activities carried on in small groups in which each individual actively participates in the planning and the execution of group projects, democratic procedures can be kept alive and even expanded.

A SECTION OF A LARGE CITY IN AN EASTERN INDUSTRIAL CENTER

The South Side of one of our industrial cities is a rather compact community of 50,000 people isolated from the rest of the city by the hill on one side and the river on the other. It runs from the hilltop, down the hillside, and along the flat land, and each area seems cut off from the other. Not only is the South Side isolated from the rest of the city, but within the community a hill-topper is separate and apart from a hill-sider, who, in turn, considers those on the flat land as different and distinct. Each of the many nationality groups endeavors to develop its own institutions, tending to intensify rather than to lessen nationality prejudices. Interwoven into the fabric of community life are the thirty-nine different church groups, many of which appeal to previous nationality and cultural ties of European life. In many instances, the church has become a bond which unites members of a nationality group, at the same time that it tends to increase hostility to those

of the same nationality who have turned to other forms of religious expression. Such cleavages among groups often prevent a common understanding of, and participation in, the American way of life.

Many families in the South Side are dependent for a livelihood upon the steel mills. Adolescents are encouraged, particularly by foreign-born parents, to leave school early in order to supplement a meagre family income by working in the mills. Half the residents of the South Side own their own homes. Few of these homes are in good condition; many lack elementary sanitation facilities. There are few clinics or hospitals, and the incidence of sickness is high. The lack of recreational facilities for all age levels is noticeable. Clubs of adolescents are arising spontaneously in an attempt, without leadership or constructive direction to meet the needs ignored by an apathetic and bewildered community.

The social setting of the South Side, presented in a style reminiscent of the narrator in *Our Town*, might be described thus:

We got the beer parlors, the pool rooms, bowling alleys, roller skating rinks—lots of commercial recreation. Some say that's why the kids get into trouble. Petty thievery and such. People complain about it. But then the people here complain about many things. We need a playground down by our block. . . . Somebody ought to do something about the plumbing down here, but nobody ever does. . . . Prices are going up something terrible. We don't see how we're going to make ends meet. . . . The streets around here have more holes than any other streets in town. Somebody ought to do something about them. . . . Something ought to be done about the sewers, there's water in a lot of the cellars around here. . . . And as for the garbage, it's just never collected. . . . That trestle by the railroad—all the sheet iron on the sides has been eaten away, and the cinders all fall down on you when you walk under—but nobody does anything about it. . . . We need a light near our corner—but nobody does anything about it. . . . We need a place to hold our dances—but nobody does anything about it. Nobody does anything about it. Nobody does anything about it. Nobody . . .

In the light of these community conditions, what should be the program of "X" agency, a proposed South Side group work agency? The agency cannot plan merely a recreational or educational program within its own walls. It must relate itself vitally to

the various interacting forces at play in the community. Its program must utilize both group work and community organization methods. It has a responsibility to provide a program that will help individuals to see, understand, and progressively advance in ability to handle life's problems as reflected in their South Side community. Yet the agency has a further function in helping to prepare the way for community planning which will involve community groups in organizing and working coöperatively to meet community needs.

The "X" agency can render a valuable service to the community in reorganizing the need for developing an interest and a readiness for a South Side planning agency, the "Y" agency, which can see the needs of the community as a whole, plan accordingly, and better integrate the work of each agency and organization in the community.

The "Y" agency would be both an operating and a planning agency, using community organization methods. It would have balanced representation from both the local community and the social agencies within the South Side. Lay and professional leadership would together scrutinize the total needs of the South Side and consider the existing resources and those needed to meet such needs. There would be neither particular functional nor agency emphasis. The "Y" agency would expect voluntary adaptation on the part of existing agencies in adjusting function and service to meet new situations. If necessary, the "Y" agency would undertake to develop new agencies.

A central intake service might be a legitimate function of the "Y" agency and would serve as a medium for discovering overlapping and duplication of service as well as areas of unmet needs. At the same time, the "Y" agency would work with the existing Federation of Social Agencies, relating community needs to city-wide planning so as not to develop an ingrown community concerned only with its own welfare. The "X" agency, which is primarily a group work agency, would have the responsibility for preparing the community for the "Y" agency. The "X" agency would operate in the area of community organization during the transition period prior to the "Y" agency's organization.

The "X" agency should operate from one central building and should use existing community facilities for its activities. This central building should contain office space for field workers and clerical staff, filing space for agency records and forms, as well as several meeting rooms for clubs and committees. The agency should have no other buildings of its own, but should use the facilities of schools, churches, nationality groups, etc. The community, for program purposes, would be divided into six more or less homogeneous sections, having in mind available facilities and topographical factors, in order to avoid isolating those on the hill top from those on the hill side or both from the people on the flat land. In each area, a program for all age groups would be set up, using existing facilities. The "X" agency would take advantage of the unused facilities in the area so as to carry on group work for those not otherwise served, at the same time helping the other institutions to develop leadership for group work within their own ranks, through training courses and program demonstrations.

In the beginning, the board of directors might consist of influential individuals in the community representing all possible groups. Once the agency has been set up, however, the board of directors should be elected by the membership of "X" agency from a broad group consisting of representatives of community organizations and members of the agency. The six areas should be included in planning a board membership representing the entire constituency. Nominees for the board should be selected from those who have served at least one year on one or more of the functional committees of the board. Each board committee should be under the chairmanship of a board member, but there should be no more than two other board members on any one committee. The selection of other personnel on the committee should be from the general community and the agency membership. Individuals should be chosen for interest, specific skill in committee work, and, as much as possible, so as to represent a cross section of all elements in the community.

The program would be supervised by a group work supervisor who would have full responsibility for the program and activities

of the "X" agency. In each area there would be a group worker to plan and carry out the activities of the section, with the emphasis varying according to the particular needs of the area.

In each area, the program would be planned to meet the needs of the following age levels: nursery school; five to eight years; eight to twelve years; twelve to fifteen years; sixteen to twenty-one years; and older adults. Intergroup activities and mass rallies would be held to bring similar age groups together from time to time. In the older groups, from twelve to thirty years of age, each age level would have an interclub council to plan programs and activities for that age level in the area as a whole. In the same way, the older adult groups would have a council to discuss problems of mutual concern. From these area councils, representatives would be sent to the "X" agency councils, which would function in similar fashion for the whole South Side membership.

The community council might be the instrument for setting up a Social Services Committee, to provide opportunities for agencies to discuss mutual problems. At the same time, the "X" agency would create a structure for carrying on its community organization work. In each of the six areas would be developed a mechanism for enlisting the support of the local leadership in planning for area needs. This might be a neighborhood council, with a membership that is not restricted to agency members. Such a council might conceivably begin as an advisory neighborhood group, gradually expanding its horizon to matters of common concern, such as securing playgrounds, improving housing conditions, disposing of garbage, etc. From these groups would come delegated representatives to a community council which would consider problems that affect the community as a whole and require more effective action to secure the removal of deplorable conditions.

Is it the group worker's job to do community organization? The group worker is both a leader and a stimulator. Specifically, his job is to work with people who need the group experience, relaxation, recreation. But he is not just a recreation worker. The help he offers is of two kinds: help in emotional and social growth,

and help in enabling the individual to perceive community needs and to work with other people to meet those needs.

The "X" agency should have a staff of twelve people, consisting of an executive director, a program supervisor, six field representatives, a community council worker, a liaison worker with the other social, educational, and civic organizations on the South Side, and two group leaders. A well-rounded group work program would be supervised by a group work supervisor, with two group leaders devoting themselves wholly to program activities, and with the field representative in each of the six sections also available to lead one or two key groups. Finally, volunteers should be drawn from all the community, and social work students who are doing field work at the agency would be available.

What kind of person can be successful in helping people break down the barriers that arise from a feeling of "difference"? What special skills are required for this kind of work? These barriers are the result of cultural patterns that are centuries old. Could the best of leadership break them down in a year, or two, or even ten? Perhaps the only way would be so to work with a few individuals in each of the minorities that they could accept this selflessness themselves and gradually bring it into their own groups. However, this new program should offer no threat to the nationality and religious organizations; it should, rather, seek to strengthen their self-confidence so that each one will eventually become a more self-assured, articulate group. Though each group would have to give up something to make the total program a success, it could do this more easily were it able to feel that in the process something was gained.

A PANEL APPRAISES THE ADVENTURE

This brings us to the close of the discussions carried on separately by each of the four groups. On the fourth day the representatives of each group sat in panel to summarize the more significant findings, examine them for common elements, and deal with certain specific questions related to them.

The relation of group work services to community organization was dealt with. According to the executive of a private agency,

there was no general pattern for all communities. He indicated that group work is a method of work, that it is of recent origin, and that it bulks small in the total of recreation and informal education; that a vast increase in public expenditures for leisure-time activities is inevitable and should be welcomed.

With reference to private and public responsibilities, it is an established fact, he stated, that most public services were initiated and financed by local citizens when the services became vitally needed or were demanded by the masses of people. Local communities and states cannot support adequate programs without Federal help. The principle of channeling Federal funds through lower governmental units has been in operation for some time and is for the most part sound. The implications for private agencies are: the further development and demonstration of group work as an educational method and as an essential function; work with minority groups; work with spiritual emphasis; supplementation of public services; and work for higher standards of services. There will always be a place for the private agency under our present form of government.

A public agency worker then expressed the conviction that private agencies do not have enough vitality to develop recreational programs to meet the need or to stimulate the public; a broad base of community organization should include Federal and state agencies.

Further clarification was sought in a restatement of group work principles. Group work is a method of working with individuals and their relationships, based on an understanding of the motivation of human behavior. The program should be related to what the members of the group can do about situations in which basic needs are unmet. The essential service is that of providing a creative group experience, and small, continuous groups best provide this experience. While the group worker works with the whole individual, he does not attempt to meet all his needs. He helps members of the group to a realization of their own capacities to unite with others in the struggle to create a better world.

So far as personnel was concerned, the implications were that the program can only be as effective as the personnel; that re-

sources for training should be shared; and that standards need to be developed for both professional and volunteer personnel. The need for continuously improving group work service, moreover, has been intensified by the war.

It was pointed out that group workers need more professional faith. Although they are courageous on the front line of actual practice under criticism, they tend to lose faith in the importance of their work. This tendency was revealed by the discussion of whether standards of group work can be maintained during the war period. Group workers need to be freed of professional fears. Can or should standards be maintained? Will the public agencies absorb or destroy private agencies? These and other questions are indicative of fears. Can we develop sufficient confidence and security to be proud of our virtues and without defense or apology offer the service which professional group work has to give? That is the challenge to all group workers.

With this panel, the work of the four experimental groups came to a close, ending a project which had enabled many to break through, in their thinking, the hitherto prescribed confines of the group work agency into the broader field of community planning so essential for group work effectiveness.

Throughout the previous sessions of this section there had been discussion of the practice of group work in helping people to meet their needs. This practice had been described as "professional." Frequent reference had been made to the use of volunteers or untrained workers. The purpose of the last session was to analyze this concept of "professional" and to see what group workers have achieved in the process of developing a specialized area of the profession commonly spoken of as social group work; also to distinguish professional practice from that of the volunteer. The analysis was given by Wilber I. Newstetter.

ARE THERE COMMON FOUNDATIONS FOR A PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOK?

Any discussion of professional outlook involves a discussion of what is professional. In my opinion there are three conditions that have to be met in order to have a profession, in the learned

sense, as distinguished from an occupation at which one makes a living. First, there must be a body of generalized knowledge which everyone can and must acquire. Second, practice, or the application of this knowledge to specific situations, every one of which is unique, consists of the exercise of judgment and discretion. This exercise of judgment and discretion has to do with two concurrent, interdependent, and continuous forms of the exercise: first, that which is necessary for understanding the nature of the dynamic and unique situations encountered; and second, the kind of judgment and discretion necessary to the creative art of deliberately affecting these specific dynamic and unique situations, according to social sanction. That is a very important point. The third condition is that there should be public cognizance of these first two conditions to the extent of recognizing a need for practice, economic provision for practice, standards or conditions of practice, and educational provision for practitioners. It is the public, in the last analysis, which confers the degree of "profession" on any form of human activity. If we test that definition of a profession by an older learned profession we see that in medicine, for example, there is a body of generalized knowledge; and, second, there is practice on the part of the physician, involving judgment and discretion. Moreover, not only does the physician in his practice have to keep on continuously understanding his patient, but the art of trying to affect the condition of his patient is also a continuous sort of procedure, and the art of treating is concurrently involved with the art of understanding the patient. Now before medicine became a profession certain standardized situations or conditions were assumed. Therefore, there was what was called "training," by which a person learned to do certain repeated processes in the face of certain so-called standard conditions, and there was apprenticeship for developing the practitioner. It was only when it became more and more obvious that every situation dealt with was unique and that the necessary treatment of each patient was a unique thing in which the practitioner had to draw from a body of generalized knowledge that we began to have professional education. When the public recognized the need for that kind of practice, and when people paid

good money for that kind of practice, and when certain conditions and standards of practice were set up in terms of license, etc., and when professional education began to appear in institutions of higher education, then, finally, the estate of "profession" was reached. Now where are we in social work with respect to this definition? Are we any further along than when Abraham Flexner made his appraisal of a profession and asked whether or not social work was really a profession? His answer, you remember, was in the negative.

Let us see what common and basic assumptions there are with respect to social work as a profession. First, the function of social work as a profession, or as a part of a wider profession not yet defined, lies in the realm of dealing with interpersonal and intergroup relations, and it lies in the realm of the purposes of such dealings as we have already very generally defined. These purposes, whatever they may be, are, in the last analysis, defined by the social norms and express themselves in terms of agency functions. As I understand it, these functions in social work and these agency functions are limited by the adequacy of the generalized knowledge of social and biological sciences at our command, as well as by whatever the structure is through which this function may operate. It appears to me impossible to consider function apart from structure, or structure apart from function, so that in talking about basic assumptions in regard to functions, I inevitably confuse them.

The next point concerns the social process. Social process is modified by the functions that we keep adding and subtracting to and from our efforts and by the methods or techniques that both affect and are affected by functions and structure. Well, we have gone right around in a circle. This circle is complete in that it has an outline but no detail. Let's go a little further and examine some of these common foundations in more detail. The first of these has to do with whatever generalized knowledge we have and the use we make of it. The second foundation is the social process and any dynamics that are involved, and the third, those social norms which refer back to what Miss Wilson termed individual and societal needs.

In order to clarify this point just a bit further I shall examine each foundation a little more closely. First, what is social process? Perhaps I might illustrate that by considering some people who, we will say, are blindfolded with their ears stopped up and their mouths gagged. There is no means of communication between them and they are not conscious of one another's presence. Under such conditions there would be no social process. But the moment communication becomes possible and *reciprocal relations* become possible through interaction, through communication of some sort, then we have the makings of social process. It is almost like the grinding of a machine and then a stopping, as characterized by a motion picture that has movement and is changing and dynamic, contrasted with a still picture. Social work dealings are reciprocal. Through that social process and through the people involved, whether there be two individuals as in the characteristic case work situation, or whether there be many more, these relations are reciprocal and every party thereto is affected in that process. This situation is essentially different from that in which a surgeon operates on the body of a patient. Nothing happens to the physician's body as such. Something does happen to the patient's body. Those people who seem to think that when they are engaged in some form of social work that all the action that is taking place is on the part of the patient do not understand the characteristic nature of social process. To think that a worker could have some kind of immunity from that process and that what takes place has merely a one-way effect is utterly fantastic in the light of the generalized knowledge and understanding which are components of our professional heritage to date. We are dealing with something that is moving, and dynamic, and therefore we need to know as much about the social process as we need to know about individuals as such; it is impossible for us to know about individuals as such apart from the social process.

With respect to this generalized knowledge foundation, what are social norms? How are they formed? How are they changed? What is their significance to the profession of social work? They are values, standards, ideals, and customs, formed through social process. The most interesting recent contribution I know is that

of Professor Muzafer Sherif. In his little book called *The Psychology of Social Norms* he reports only one experiment in terms of how norms are formed, but it is pertinent to us. He developed an experiment in which he demonstrates that in the social situation these norms or standards or values tend to be altered and that the norms of the individuals who are involved tend to converge. He first put an individual in a room which he blotted out in complete darkness. At the other end of the room he set up a light behind a shield which had a little pin hole in it. He then told the subject that in a few moments there would be a light there and that he wanted him to press a button the minute that light appeared to move and again the moment it appeared to stop. The person sat there and pretty soon pushed the buzzer, and a little later pushed it again. Of course, the interesting part of it was that the light never moved at all.

That experiment was repeated on a number of people. Then some of the people with whom it had been done individually went in a room together, and it was found that the moment at which they thought the light moved and stopped, had changed. The norm established under the group situation was different from the norm established in the individual situation, and the one had an effect on the other so that the time elements tended to converge. Then Sherif tried the experiment again, with people who were first introduced into the group situation, and then he tried it on them individually. This experiment is not a proof, but it emphasizes something we have long since learned to acknowledge: When people with different norms, and values, get together there is a tendency for them to assume some converging characteristic if the group stays together. If there is too much divergence, the group tends to break up. Hence, if this experiment is valid, as tested through further experiments, we might understand that when two people get together, or when several people get together, such as group worker and members of the group, or where relations are established between groups with different backgrounds and values, there is an inevitable changing through the social process.

There is another element in this common foundation: the in-

dividual and what we know about him. Our generalized knowledge tells all of us that when people come together, even though there are just two of them immediately involved, that at one and the same time they are persons with all their internal feelings, attitudes, values, and standards; that at one and the same time something happens through the social process; and that there are elements of intergroup relations involved in the very simplest of these two-person situations. One person may represent a family, a racial group, a religious group, or an occupational group; the other person may represent a group, an agency, a college background, a religious background; so that in the simple relation between two people all the elements of intergroup relations are potentially possible, and we have a social process. Therefore practice of social work in any one of the divisions, of case work, and group work, and intergroup work (or community organization) requires the same form of generalized knowledge that is required by the other. These are parts of the common foundations of group work and social work.

How do these norms affect us? Social work functions in the very beginning grew out of efforts to eliminate divergencies from certain norms. We believed, because of our cultural standards and backgrounds, that all people should be independent and should stand on their own feet. When they deviated from that norm, and from others, we had what we called problems of delinquency, of dependency, of unemployment, of disease, ignorance, ingrownness, all of them, you see, having been defined by these social norms. The very origin of our social work agency functions goes back through the social process to these norms or standards, of which there are two kinds: those which are generally accepted, or accepted by the control group, and those which are desired by a minority group; we call them socially desired norms and socially accepted norms. Birth control is an example of a socially desired norm, and garbage collection is an example of a socially accepted norm.

In the second place, our function is related to this distinction of socially accepted and socially desired norms. In the third place, the norms of an agency, the norms of a community, the norms of

a worker, the norms of a client, are all involved when we deal with individuals or when we deal with groups, or when we deal with intergroup relations. Moreover, norms vary in different individuals and in different communities, from time to time, and as professional people we have to recognize this process of change and the time element involved.

The next place in any breakdown of our social process into facets was suggested in the discussion of the process of decision-making. Some people think decision-making is important; some think it is important how government control evolves. There might be a thousand different angles, not just the few mentioned here, through which we might look at social process. But it is still social process, no matter what slant you take in regarding it. And you take the slant you do because of the values and norms you have.

In groups, norms tend to converge. If we know that, we can deal with our professional activities more adequately.

We are at an interesting state in society. In this profession of ours we have had such a great concern about the qualitative aspects of interpersonal relations. Today we see, in great areas of society, activities of war and killing and preparation for killing which seem to deny that norm of the importance of the individual. This presents a great dilemma to many people and often leads us to feel that we are just on the periphery of things and that the more important and decisive happenings are taking place in other areas. If we realize, though, that this norm of the importance of the individual has not "grown up" in a vacuum of norms, if we realize that other related norms, such as democratic procedure, freedom, individual enterprise, are configuratively related to this one norm of the importance of the individual, we are less apt to stress any one norm to the exclusion of others to which it may be inextricably bound.

Not only are social work functions defined in terms of these norms, but it is by them in the last analysis that social work as a profession is being established and evaluated by the public. We are not judged by the delicateness of our operations. The public judges our efforts in terms of the values and norms that are impor-

tant in the public mind. Thus, we may see that a third foundation, the understanding of social norms, is indeed an essential part of our common professional development.

With reference to distinguishing between professional practice and that of the volunteer, or other paid worker, there are certain more or less stereotyped situations encountered in connection with every professional, and there are more or less stereotyped techniques for dealing with those situations. Where that is true, professions have developed people who are trained to carry out those functions where the exercise of judgment and discretion is less involved. For these positions we need "trained" people who can handle situations under the supervision of workers who are professionally educated, and thus capable of sensing and dealing with the uniqueness of a situation if it becomes of paramount importance. Social work today must recognize this and attempt to create a socially accepted category, if you will, whereby people can be trained in a relatively short time. In connection with every profession, it is recognized that workers in less important positions can often serve effectively in certain relations and with respect to certain functions. Trained personnel, whether volunteer or paid, are obviously needed in great numbers at this time. It is clear that they are needed to supplement the small, but increasing, number of professionally educated workers available.

Finally, I do not believe that we can possibly have such a thing as a profession of group work or a profession of case work or a profession of community organization work. What we must practice is social work, just as a physician practices medicine. The various specialists, of course, deal with specific situations with which they have become more familiar than others because of certain skills that they have acquired. While specializing has probably been a curse to social work, up to this time, in the development of a professional outlook, we shall soon begin to solve that problem.

To define the eligibility for membership in a profession in terms of professional education in contrast to apprenticeship training is a forward step. Medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy found that out a long time ago. But it was not until 1933 that the

American Association of Social Workers took that step. I believe that social work is becoming a profession, or part of a wider profession not yet defined. We have not arrived yet, perhaps, but I believe that we are becoming more and more conscious of the common elements and the basic elements that will go into the making of our profession. We are on our way.

CURRENT TRENDS IN FOSTER PARENT EDUCATION

By *LOIS WILDY*

THE EDUCATION of foster parents is based on the assumption that foster homes are selected because of their potential usefulness to the child and to the agency. "Education," in this usage, means the "acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge" and in a broad sense includes the giving of information, by the agency to the foster parent. Education is not solely a matter of the intellect but involves the emotions as well, so that both must be considered in the educational process. We think of the educational process as starting when the foster parent makes the initial application to the agency and continuing throughout the study. We recognize it as an interacting process between the agency worker and the prospective foster parent.

Assistance to the foster parents in the rearing of children is provided through the trained case worker, a process which we call supervision. The term "supervision" has certain implications which are peculiar to the field of child placing. Supervision connotes both authority and teaching in the case work setting. It is the means by which the agency maintains its control over the welfare of the child. Furthermore, the agency claims the right to remove the child when that seems advisable. Throughout the placement experience the agency discharges its responsibility to the child, not only by being aware of, but also by attempting to influence, the direction of his progress and the factors that are contributing to his development. This involves teaching through an individualized approach and includes those processes by which the foster parent is aided in the development of his capacities.

In the supervision of foster parents the focus of case work is, generally speaking, upon the foster parent-foster child relationship. We are working with persons who, presumably, are making fairly satisfactory adjustments in the other areas of their lives; the problems which they present to the agency worker are primarily in relation to the agency and to the child. The chief concern is therefore fairly well confined to those attitudes and relationships which seem adversely to affect the rearing of foster children. We have learned that foster parent education includes the simple and common-sense interpretations of child training, parent-child relationships, the dynamics of growth, and child psychology. One of the current trends in case work thinking tends to emphasize the educational process in helping individuals to readjust their lives to their environment, and in providing an opportunity for the individual to participate in the kind of thinking that will enable him to achieve a better way of life. It is the process whereby the individual shares intellectually in the active direction of his life and of those social forces of which he is a part. Learning is an individual matter, dependent upon the ability of the individual to comprehend the subject matter, to participate in the activity of learning, and to utilize the knowledge gained. Learning and growth are in effect the same; the dynamics of both processes are from within.

The giving of information to an individual carries no assurance that he learns or that growth takes place, for if any constructive change is to occur certain conditions must be fulfilled: the absence of strong emotional blockings or resistances on the part of the learner, in this case the foster parent; the existence of a positive relationship between the individual and the teacher, in this case the worker; the presence of a problem for which a solution is desired; motivation in seeking a solution; potential gratifications in the learning process; and an opportunity to utilize new knowledge in immediate situations.

The learning process cannot operate when the individual has strong emotional blockings which inhibit his acceptance of new ideas. When such conflicts exist, helping foster parents is definitely related to our understanding of these manifestations of psycho-

logical resistance. Through study of the foster home and subsequent supervisory visits the worker should have an understanding of the dynamics of the foster parent's behavior and his responses to the child. With this knowledge the worker may be able to determine how and in what way the foster parent can accept help and to what extent the worker can aid in the release of tension and hostility. Although the worker may be aware of the unconscious dynamics which relate to the foster parent's earlier life experiences and which may have deep emotional significance, she focuses upon handling the conscious manifestations of emotional response to the end of easing the conflict as it relates to the foster child.

Perhaps one of the most common emotional blockings is in the area of sex education. For instance, sex curiosity may touch off emotional conflicts in the foster mother. She may react to this behavior with anxiety, with overzealous care, or with total rejection and demands for removal of the child. Before she can accept an intellectual interpretation of the child's behavior and participate in thinking about how she can handle the situation, she must be given an opportunity to release her feelings. Her emotional responses, in all probability, stem from her own misinformation about sex and from guilt arising from her own childhood experiences. With the worker's help the foster mother may experience some change in feeling whereupon she may realize that her own conflicts block her efforts to help the child. She may become sufficiently free of anxiety to participate actively in learning how she can extend this help. If, on the other hand, the foster mother has so much anxiety with reference to sex that she cannot participate freely in an exploration of what this means to her, then it would be advisable not to arouse conflicts through trying to change her thinking. Other solutions should be sought, such as providing an opportunity for the child to get help from some qualified person. In such an instance the worker might ease the discomfort of the foster mother by accepting as not unusual her inability to discuss the matter.

The foster parent-foster child relationship is the sustaining force throughout the placement and is the primary means by

which the foster parent is given help. Supported by an implicit assurance of acceptance by the worker the foster parent may become free to express doubts, irritations, and discouragements. Released from these tensions through talking of them she may be able to gain an insight regarding her own responses to the foster child, from which she can proceed to an intellectual and emotional understanding of the child.

Educators have long recognized that the relationship between student and teacher relates directly to the success or failure of the learning process. Children who feel some personal affinity to the teacher tend to be more coöperative and are better able to utilize the learning situation, providing this positive feeling is not abject dependency. In the tutorial system of education, which has been recognized as one of the effective methods of teaching, there is opportunity for a recognition of individual differences and the introduction of subject matter in relation to the individual's capacity. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity for the teacher to use individualized methods which stimulate the children's learning, in setting the tempo and delineating the areas into which they are ready to proceed. These inherent values are found in the individualized method used by the case worker in the education of the foster parent.

Educational theory is based on the principle that learning is specific and that it is essentially problem-solving. The foster mother, for example, presents a specific problem to the worker for solution. The worker provides her with an opportunity to talk about the problem, to describe its various manifestations and her responses to it. As the foster parent discusses the question with the worker, the solution may evolve through her own activity and through the worker's activity in affirming and supplementing the foster mother's ideas or by injecting a different point of view.

Learning is directly related to motivation. In seeking help from the worker the foster mother may be motivated by the wish to have further gratifications through foster parenthood or, to put it negatively, to find release from the irritations which are limiting these gratifications. Other motivations may include her desire to

be a better foster mother, to gain recognition from the worker or the community. The worker must take cognizance of those legitimate motivations.

Purposiveness as a condition for learning is well recognized. The mastery of an art must serve some practical and relatively immediate end. Unless the foster mother has some conception of the goal toward which she is striving, she will be unable to interest herself in its pursuit. The worker's task is to help the foster mother see clearly that preparation for responsible, well-adjusted adulthood is the end result of her efforts to enable a foster child to be a healthy, happy youngster.

For effective learning there must be gratifications which provide the foster mother with a sense of achievement which must have personal significance for her. These gratifications come through the little day-by-day advances which she is able to make in her understanding of the child and in a recognition of the way her methods of handling make for a better-adjusted child.

Learning is further enhanced by the worker's recognition that problems presented by the foster parents are not static but are a challenge to be met through the joint efforts of foster mother and worker. The worker helps the foster mother to think aloud in an effort to clarify the problems. Because of her objectivity and her understanding of the factors involved, the worker may follow up leads and throw out suggestions which may help in the solution of the problem and which the foster mother may utilize, at the time or later.

The group method of foster parent education was conceived as a means of supplementing and supporting the individualized method of the case worker. In purpose it follows the general parent educational movement which has endeavored through study and discussion, radio scripts, newspaper articles, and individual counseling to help parents in the rearing of their children.

A scrutiny of the foster parent educational programs now sponsored by agencies reveals certain similarities and differences of philosophy. The Child Welfare League of America has published considerable information on this subject, most recently the little

pamphlet by Mrs. Marguerite McCollum.¹ I am also indebted to Mrs. Gertrude Maxwell, of Loyola University, Chicago, who generously permitted me to review the material she is collecting in preparation for her thesis on this subject.²

The studies made by Mrs. McCollum and Mrs. Maxwell reveal that some agencies do not sponsor an educational program as such but depend solely upon the individual contacts of the home finder and supervisory worker. These agencies believe that individualized supervision is adequate to serve foster parents' needs and that formal foster parent education is not in line with the agency's philosophy, which assumes that the foster child has the same status with own children and that, therefore, there is no place for a group that would tend to differentiate the foster child or the foster family from any other child or family in the community. Other agencies have not attempted formal educational programs because foster parents use other existing resources. Still other agencies report that they have had neither time nor facilities to set up a program, and some indicate doubt as to its effectiveness.

There seem to be two major purposes for which agencies have sponsored group methods of education: first, for administrative purposes; and second, for instructive purposes. Infrequently a few agencies reported the chief purpose as being social.

The meetings held for administrative purposes had three objectives, the first being that of recruiting additional foster homes. It has been common experience that foster parents are a most productive source of referrals of applications, and some agencies use foster mother meetings as a means of interpreting the agency's program and of stimulating recruiting.

The second objective was the development of agency policies through joint discussion by staff and foster parents. One agency reports that due to the dissatisfaction of individual foster parents in regard to the current board rate, one meeting was devoted to

¹ "Trends in Foster Parent Education," by Marguerite McCollum, Ohio Committee on Child Placing, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio. (New York: Child Welfare League of America, 1941.)

² Thesis on subject of foster parent education now in preparation by Mrs. Gertrude Maxwell, graduate student at Loyola University, Chicago.

a discussion of the actual rise in the cost of living. It was agreed at the meeting that the executive secretary should ask the board of directors to increase the board rate by 10 percent, the subject to be reviewed in six months if costs continued to rise. All the foster mothers were satisfied with this plan; they had participated in the discussion and they understood the basis upon which the rate of 10 percent had been determined. This illustrates the agency's philosophy of recognizing the foster parents as an integral part of the agency, and proving that it is willing to have its policies and procedures examined and discussed by foster parents.

The third objective was an interpretation of the needs of children in the community, the resources and facilities available, and consideration of the unmet needs.

The values resulting from these meetings held for administrative purposes were reported in subjective terms such as that the foster parents appreciated recognition by the agency, and had an increased awareness of themselves as co-workers in the agency program. A discussion of the agency and its policies led to some therapeutic results also, such as the release of hostilities and the dissipation of feelings of guilt which some foster parents had in regard to accepting board payments. In some instances it brought about a more willing adherence to agency procedures and a strengthening of morale.

The second purpose of these group meetings was to increase the foster mother's understanding of child psychology and methods of care and training and the modification of attitudes toward foster children and their problems. The methods commonly utilized included formal courses under the auspices of universities, lectures by specialists, and informal talks followed by discussions. Such programs show a wide range in content and emphasis, but there is a trend toward programs which emphasize current ideas regarding the development of the normal child, with stress upon the psychological factors and the special problems and needs of children placed in foster homes.

The lectures and discussions stimulated the thinking of some of the foster parents and prepared the way for a discussion of the subject with the worker. In one case the speaker talked of the

social needs of the adolescent and the way in which recreation can be helpful in overcoming some of the problems of the child of this age. Following the meeting one foster mother said, "I am going to tell Mary that she can invite her friends in at any time to pop corn or make fudge." At the worker's next visit the foster mother spoke of the helpfulness of the meetings because there were many things she did not understand about adolescence. She wished to follow some of the suggestions and discussed these in relation to her specific problems. The worker felt this mother had made progress, not only because she could apply her new knowledge to a specific situation, but because the group meetings and the subsequent talks with the worker had lessened her anxiety regarding the child's behavior.

The discussions by foster parents tended to universalize the problems. Foster mothers felt reassured that other parents had to cope with the same problems. These results indicated at least some temporary change in attitude and feeling. Other values included the strengthening of morale, clarification of the role of the worker, and enjoyment of the social aspects of the meetings.

The Children's Bureau of the Indianapolis Orphan Asylum reports an interesting experiment in using meetings as a method of group therapy with the purpose of "enabling foster parents to resolve resistances which are known to interfere with child care on a realistic basis," and of providing case workers with an opportunity to learn of the special dynamics of foster child care from participation in such a group. A small group was selected and the program was highly informal and flexible, using staff leadership. The leaders utilized four approaches: The indirect approach was through the worker's acceptance of the group, as well as the acceptance of each individual by the other. This included an accepting attitude toward foster mothers themselves, toward foster children placed with them, and toward the problems which were brought up for discussion. Second, the direct approach was utilized as the leaders gave interpretations and explanations of a problem or process in an effort to clarify and to contribute knowledge to the group. This did not imply that the leaders presented solutions, since each individual must arrive at those for himself.

A third approach, also direct, was through the process of the leaders asking questions which led to further clarification of thinking. Lastly, the use of generalization and universalization of the problems tended to diminish foster mothers' tensions and anxieties.

The workers reported that these meetings resulted in modification of attitudes to some slight degree and that various tensions and guilts were partially relieved, particularly those arising from unconscious guilt over sexuality, severe discipline, and hostilities toward adolescent children. The workers gained further insight into problems that occur within foster homes, as well as insight into interpersonal relations of foster parents and foster child. It was thought that the group served as a stimulus for the indirect uncovering of problems which might be extremely difficult for the workers to reach as quickly through case work. In its purpose of group therapy and the methods used, this experiment was interesting and it may be hoped that the findings, which are being compiled as a master's thesis by the leader of the group, Mrs. Marietta Hahn,³ can be made available for further study and evaluation.

To evaluate the effectiveness of the group method of foster parent education certain criteria can be set up on the basis of our experience and knowledge. Those meetings which are held chiefly to extend the administrative objectives of the agency are based on a recognition of the foster parent as an integral part of the agency who shares to some extent in the formulation of policies and procedures. Some foster parents, of course, may not wish to assume this responsibility, since they may obtain gratifications in caring for agency children which are sufficiently satisfying. In planning this type of organization, consideration might be given to those factors which would lead to consistent practice, freedom of all foster parents who so desire to participate, willingness on the part of the agency to evaluate its policies in the light of criticisms, and a degree of flexibility in the formulation of procedures which would tend to enhance this group process.

³ "The Therapeutic Factor in Group Education as It Influences the Foster Mother and Instructs the Worker," master's thesis by Mrs. Marietta Hahn, Children's Bureau of Indianapolis Orphan Asylum, Indianapolis, Indiana.

For those group meetings which have as their purpose the more concise objectives of education and growth of foster parents a number of factors might be given consideration. On the basis of reported experience, the most effective results have been obtained when a selective process has been consciously used in choosing the group members. A natural selection will come about through geographical location, as well as through interest on the part of the foster mother. The basis of the selection would be directly related to the objectives and content of the program, which the agency would need to have clearly defined.

For effective learning, an educational program would be set up in accordance with the principles which have been found to enhance the process of learning. In the selection of the members, consideration might well be given to the manifestations of psychological and intellectual readiness to accept this kind of help, to the evidences which point to an incentive to participate, and to those factors which might stimulate or inhibit the foster mother's growth. There is some evidence that group meetings tend to dilute hostile feelings and guilt reactions, but it has also been found that this process may tend to activate or intensify feelings in certain foster parents when the subject discussed has special psychological significance. For this reason many agencies have found that programs which pertain to the handling of environmental factors tend to be more successful than those which are apt to arouse latent psychological conflicts which cannot be dealt with individually in the group. If the group is designed for the purpose of group therapy these same considerations would be kept in mind, since the effectiveness of this method is directly related to the capacity of individuals to use this kind of help and to the capacity of staff members to utilize group methods. Further consideration might be given to the specific and practical aspects of the content of the program, which would enable foster parents to utilize this knowledge in solving their specific problems.

Careful consideration might well be given to the leadership of a group since it has been found that effective learning is directly related to certain qualities of leadership, such as the capacity to relate to and accept the individual members of the group and

their problems; the ability to present material in such a way that it stimulates individual participation; and skill in utilizing the discussion method.

The ultimate evaluation of the effectiveness of this method can only be ascertained on an individual basis. Each participant must determine the value of this experience for herself. The worker can note the manifestations of growth as revealed in the foster mother's responses, the extent of her active participation, and the overt evidences of the application of her knowledge. However, growth is a slow and continuous process and involves changes which may be subtle and gradual but none the less fundamental; hence the efficacy of such a program can be tested only as the values of the meetings display themselves over a period of time.

I have presented some of the current trends in foster parent education and have discussed in some detail those pertaining to the individualized function inherent in the relationship between the case worker and foster mother and to the group methods being tried by a relatively few agencies. Similarities as well as differences in philosophy and practice have been noted. That differences exist is not discouraging but rather is an indication of a healthy state of affairs in the child-placing field. It is to be hoped that use of this method and analysis of results may offer a solution to some of the perplexing problems in this field, and it would seem particularly advisable that temperate experimentation be undertaken to determine whether the group methods of education may have a broader application.

DEVELOPING COMMUNITY INTEREST IN FOSTER HOMES

By KATE BULLOCK

ACTUAL METHODS of developing community interest in foster homes in South Carolina have varied according to the community, the agency, and the particular need at the moment. In South Carolina the only child welfare program, other than institutional care, has been until recently a limited adoption program. For a long time children have been placed through indenture, deeding, and by just "giving" them away. We are becoming extremely conscious of our responsibilities, however, and are trying to work out a better program of child care.

In one rural community a children's institution wanted to supplement its group care program with foster home care, but no one could understand why consideration would be given such placement. To help the agency interpret foster home care the case worker chose a family well known and highly respected in the community. At the worker's first visit the family became so interested in the interpretation of foster care that they decided to offer their own home. At her second visit, there was less enthusiasm. Finally, the father said, "Now, Miss Blank, you have told us about your program, but we don't know a thing about you. Suppose you tell us something about yourself and then we'll talk about your plans."

That was the first lesson in finding homes in a rural county that knew nothing about foster home care. The program, it seemed, was secondary to the worker's personality, background, and place in the community. The case worker learned that the

first step was to become a part of the community. She attended church there, and never did she miss a special program at the school—even before a single home was approved or a single child placed. She became familiar with the general culture of that community. Members of the community cited as references by prospective foster families were most helpful in evaluating the homes, for they knew who the worker was and what she represented. The foster home project soon became a community project and the worker was merely the person who verified the recommendations and followed up the applications. The interpretation of the needs of the foster children has created an entirely new attitude toward those children. Most of them now are participating members of the community—no different from “own” children. The foster families take great pride in their children, and the children feel that they really “belong,” both to the families and to the community.

In one county in South Carolina an appeal for foster homes was made through a news story written as an advertisement: “Wanted. A Home for a Child.” The narrative explained the purpose of substitute homes and the need for a foster home program in the county. The interviews that followed the applications in response to the article were more for the purpose of telling people about foster care than for actually choosing a home for a particular child. Teachers, physicians, ministers, businessmen, club women, and others were interviewed and in each instance the total child welfare program was interpreted. To a teacher, for example, foster care was explained as a sort of experimental educational program, providing an education for a child, continuing the education of the foster parents in child care, and re-educating the real parents in homemaking, and at the same time educating the community through interpretation of the entire program. To physicians and ministers foster home care was interpreted as a form of treatment and physical, social, emotional, and spiritual needs were compared. The interpretation was made on the basis of the experience of the interested person rather than that of the social worker.

No funds were available for boarding children, but as inter-

pretation of the program proceeded, civic clubs became interested, not only in referring prospective foster families, but also in paying expenses of children in the homes. The general community attitude changed greatly in relation to the treatment of all children. Formerly, a request for institutional care was made for every child in any difficulty, but now requests for service to children are made and the type of service is determined by the worker.

A great problem in foster home interpretation is that of overcoming prejudice and the fear of foster home care based on the unhappy childhood experiences of individuals. In one instance, an influential man had been placed as a child in homes in which he was so mistreated that placement at a county poor farm was a great relief. When he was subsequently sent to a children's institution he was happier than he had ever been. He remembers the physical and mental hurts he received through foster home care. Although he still believes institutional care is best he recognizes the value of foster home care because a worker has interested him in a child who could not make an adjustment to an institution but who did work out his difficulties in a well-chosen boarding home. The man's personal interest in this child has given the worker an excellent opportunity to interpret the need of many types of resources in planning for children. He is gradually admitting that the home-finding process today eliminates the dangers of the haphazard placements of his generation.

There is one county in South Carolina in which an appeal through newspapers, club talks, and visits to professional people has meant little in securing assistance in the development of a foster care program. The county is rural, mountainous, with scattered communities, four textile centers with populations ranging from eleven hundred to forty-eight hundred, and five settlements with less than five hundred in population. There is a high percentage of illiteracy, incomes are low, comforts few, and living is consequently simple. Heretofore, children have been given away when relatives could not provide for them, or neighbors have taken them in. In more recent years institutional care has been used extensively. Foster home care, a completely new idea,

is now approved by the leading citizens because the child welfare worker has been able to interpret the program rather generally. However, few foster homes have actually been found, and until recently no plan had been worked out by which to reach the homes that might be used. Now, when the child welfare worker is in the more rural areas, it is not uncommon for her to go from house to house telling the neighbors of her work and of the need for foster family care. It is necessary to explain very simply how much a mother and father mean to a child and how a substitute home can provide the training and affection the child cannot find in his own home. It seems most difficult to convince some families that the local community will offer a child as many opportunities as a distant institution will. Since there are, in this area, more useful citizens who have been reared in institutions than there are who have made successful adjustments in foster homes, the citizens are not yet convinced that the new ideas about placement are better than the old ones. Through patience, tact, and understanding of the cultural background of the community the child welfare worker is bringing about a gradual change of attitude toward foster care, and more and more people are referring prospective foster families to the agency.

South Carolina has never had a definite foster home program for Negro children, and yet there is a desperate need for the development of every possible resource for these children. One of our Negro child welfare workers, Mrs. Iola Jones, of the Florence County Department of Public Welfare, explains her method of interpretation to her own people by saying:

The Negro group, for a number of years, has been credited with being the most coöperative group in that the Negro has been more willing than any other group to give children homes. We have found this to be true, but when we study the cause we find that the motives often are either economic or emotional rather than the actual welfare of the child. We have made an effort to get the public to see that the foster home is not chosen to meet the foster parents' needs but to meet the needs of the child. In one case, an aged couple asked that a child be placed in their home for the sole purpose of "handing them their pipes." All their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchild-

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dren had left home, and they needed someone for that particular purpose.

In many cases we find that children are given homes as a compensation for other things that have been lost in life. We are pleased to see that there is a gradual change in the attitude of the public. We also have the peculiar problem of having white families offer Negro children homes in return for their services. In such a situation, a white home can never be a normal home for a Negro child. We are afraid that this may cause serious trouble later.

Some public officials think that the worker's approach to the home-finding program is too slow and long-drawn-out. They sometimes object to working with the agency because of the thorough study made before approval for placement. We are also handicapped because we have no funds for boarding care.

We are seeing some accomplishments in meeting these problems, however, and the success is due, in part, to the interpretation of the foster home program to several small, well-chosen groups of individuals and to larger groups representative of their respective communities. The small groups are chosen so that one may sit down and talk informally about the actual problems of the agency. Since these people have a more cultured background and a higher economic standard than those in the larger groups, they have gradually been helped to see the need of a planned foster care program and they are assuming more and more responsibility in helping interpret the program to others. Several members of these groups have offered their homes to children.

Actual home finding has not been so difficult after the program was well understood in the community. In talking to large groups about the need for foster homes, we were able to tell a general cross section of the community about our work, but there usually followed an avalanche of applications, making it necessary to weed out many. People were often anxious to help but had no understanding at all of the responsibility of foster parents. We believe the best method of home finding is through the interpretation of foster parents themselves, for they tell of the many things required of individuals who care for others' children.

We are most happy that through the help of the county director and our consultant a satisfactory plan is now being worked out so that we are meeting the individual problems of Negro children in white homes and adequate adjustments are being made. This has taken a long and patient interpretation of needs, problems, and responsibilities to both races by both races. In addition, through actual participation in the continued interpretation of the needs of our Negro children, groups of our own people are now interested in

supplying funds to demonstrate the effectiveness of a boarding care program for some of our children.

In another county the Negro child welfare worker found that her best method of interpretation was by discussing the foster care program with influential individuals as well as with organizations. The best theoretical interpretation is not so good as an actual demonstration of foster care, however, and real community participation has come only through the encouragement of community interest in particular children. It is most important, however, that the demonstration be a natural one. As children become a part of the community and are accepted as members of a foster family so do members of the community accept and approve the principles of foster care.

Interpretation of differences in foster home care is most challenging. Because of former practices, foster home care is sometimes synonymous with adoption. In one community the process of interpretation is slow because adoption practices there have been questionable. The temporary placements have been generally unfortunate in that homes were not well chosen and placements were rather haphazard. Here the approach is being made through a case committee which is not only helpful in relating the community attitudes, but is assuming primary responsibility for an interpretive program in the county. First, the committee convinced county legislators of the need for adequate support of the child welfare program. The next step was a planned publicity program. The results have been amazing. In a short time the community has become interested in the total child welfare program and alert to the needs of a different type of foster care program. The local judge supports the agency, the teachers are encouraging, even the legislators and city council are no longer antagonistic. Foster home applications are being made by many types of people and most of the homes can be used.

In a rural county which is also one of the largest textile centers in South Carolina, there is being developed an interesting coöperative foster home program. With the general reorganization of the children's court, need of a good system for temporary care was recognized. Children were often kept in jail pending

other plans and institutional care was usually the final answer. A detention home was thought to be the solution but, fortunately, the judge was willing to listen to other suggestions. Because their interest had been aroused in the problem of juvenile delinquency, an intercivic club group appointed a committee to study the care of children. Boarding home care for delinquents was appealing though not convincing; an institution seemed much more logical. Through constant interpretation to individuals concerned with the total program it was decided that funds would be requested for a boarding home experiment for the court. There were no other specialized children's services in the county except those available through a family agency. When the request for funds was made, there was a concurrent request for a child welfare worker. The latter was not approved, but through the child welfare services program a worker was added to the staff of the county department of public welfare. She was specifically requested to work with the court in demonstrating the effectiveness of a coöperative working relationship between the two agencies.

Sometimes the court pays board for children under the supervision of the child welfare worker. The funds have been so limited that only board can be paid, but supplementary funds for clothing, school expenses, dental care, and allowances have been secured through private agencies, civic clubs, religious groups, and individuals. The actual home finding has been difficult, for the interpretation to those who can best offer their homes has lagged behind the community support. Gradually, however, better types of applications are coming to the agency.

One real difficulty is in persuading parents and relatives to consider foster home placement rather than institutional care. In the words of the child welfare worker:

The idea of their children having affectionate foster parents has been a constant threat to the real parents. Here we have tried to work with the parents, the children, and prospective foster parents on a case work basis interpreting one to the other.

Another problem is that of convincing the community . . . that we can find foster parents who will be willing to give "bad" boys and girls a home. It has been difficult for them to believe that foster parents would not discriminate between their own children and foster chil-

dren. Actually finding foster homes and relating to the community how certain children have been accepted and loved by foster parents has helped. . . . A meeting held by the court at which one of the foster mothers talked to members of the county legislative delegation and a group of club representatives dispelled skepticism.

With the coöperation of the court, the child welfare worker met with the intercivic club groups and explained the need of expanding the boarding home program to include children other than delinquents. The group sponsored a joint request through the court for both dependent and delinquent children. For the coming fiscal year an appropriation has been made for boarding care for the county department of public welfare and the court. The intercivic club group is backing the program and has pledged full support in helping to expand it each year.

The county is now supplementing the salary of the child welfare worker, providing boarding funds for children through the local department of public welfare and the court. Through a case committee, constant interpretation to the community and clarification of policies between agencies make it possible to eliminate conflict that so often causes support of one program and neglect of the other. All agencies pool their applications from prospective foster parents and approved homes are used, with adequate supervision assured. Foster home applications are increasing.

The individual members of the case committee interpret the program to their executives and to their boards and to others. At the same time parents, teachers, relatives, physicians, and nurses are becoming familiar with the total plan of care for children, and gradually individuals are assuming some responsibility for referring prospective foster parents to the agency.

We have seen how several counties use many methods of interpretation in securing participation of the community in a foster care program. The fundamental philosophy is the same—the belief that foster care in the local community is needed in meeting local problems; that good foster homes can be found when people are convinced of their effectiveness; that adequate interpretation of the total child welfare program is prerequisite to the development of a specialized service; and that community under-

standing usually results in support. Methods of developing community participation vary according to the needs of the children, the degree of development of social services for children, and the receptiveness of individual citizens to the general plans. The best way seems to be through an actual demonstration of foster care. Ways of securing community participation are through group discussions, individual conferences, follow-up interpretations of the effectiveness of a particular placement, analyses of failures, development of case committees. Coöperative planning between agencies can eliminate rivalry and at the same time secure adequate participation in several types of care in a community. Workers must realize that they are merely representatives of an agency which is actually a tool of the community and that the community will participate in the program if given an opportunity and an incentive.

CASE WORK IN THE PROCESS OF ADOPTION

By *SOPHIE VAN S. THEIS*

THE OBJECTIVE of the adoption agency is clearly to find good foster homes for certain children. The agency exists to help those children who need and can take adoption. There is no confusion in that objective. However, the process by which the objective is achieved offers possibilities for dramatic oversimplification as well as infinite opportunity for hair-splitting theorizing about the subjective implications of each phase of the process which may complicate and retard the process almost hopelessly.

Let us visualize a few adoptions, the end achievements of the child-placement process. Here are a young husband and wife of intelligence, maturity, good health, and warm feelings, devoted to their healthy two-year-old who is happily identified with his adopted parents. In another home there is a boy of eight, related with love and a strong hold on life to his adopted parents, who is permitted to keep, without conflict, a clear memory of his own mother as a part of his earlier life. Another family have adopted a brother and sister of four and five respectively who feared separation after their own mother's death and who now dare to be "naughty," according to the adopted parents, without worry about either of them being "sent away." Such adoptions may just happen. There is an adoption process which does not leave matters wholly to chance.

On the theory that child adoption work is a highly specialized function and that there is value at the present stage of the development of the public child welfare program in New York State,

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in having a private state-wide setup for this highly specialized service for children, the State Charities Aid Association operates a child adoption agency. This agency receives children from all parts of the state and, in turn, places them in all parts of the state and in neighboring states readily accessible to its case workers. It is used by many public officials, city and county, as well as by private welfare organizations and institutions.

The major steps in the case work contact of the State Charities Aid Association in the process of adoption might be listed as follows: (1) the referral of the child—the point at which someone responsible for the child refers him to the agency for the purpose of having him placed for adoption; (2) the acceptance of the child for care—at this point the agency takes the child under care on the assumption that he can probably be placed for adoption; (3) the application of the foster parents for a child—the foster parents here take a definite step toward discussing their desire for a child; (4) the acceptance of the foster family—the point at which the agency moves forward with the family in a plan for a child; (5) the actual placement—the point at which the agency helps the foster family and child to try life together; (6) legal adoption—the court procedure after which the family and child go on without agency participation; and (7) availability for consultation and practical assistance, if help is needed after adoption, by the child or his adopted parents—this is not really a step in case work contact, but a recognition of the possibility that there *may* be one.

This listing is somewhat artificial. While each step is separate and distinct, it is also important to remember that each step is dependent on the others if the plan is to work. Let us consider the first one more concretely. The majority of children placed by the Association are referred by public welfare departments and children's courts. The person who refers the child may or may not be a trained case worker. In most instances, many steps have been taken by the workers of the local welfare or court units and by the parents, long before the referral is made. The child's adoptability is considered by the agency's case worker, in terms of the agency's policies and requirements, as well as of the agency's resources and limitations. The agency's case worker and

the worker who refers a child both contribute to the exploration of plans for the child. The adoption agency requires certain facts before it can be known whether or not the child is legally eligible. It needs facts about his family history which may have some bearing on the most desirable placement and supplementary facts about relatives which may have value for the prospective foster parents, or for the child himself in later life. The agency will need a record of the health history and a report of the findings of doctors, psychologists, and teachers. There will be a discussion of what is involved in the relinquishment of the child, not only by the parents and relatives, but by the referral agency. An effort is made to arrive at some estimate of the child's probable capacity to accept an adoptive relationship, if a home is offered.

In the course of, and as part of, the general consideration of the acceptance of the child, the worker discusses practical plans about agency board rates and payments, and arrangements for receiving the child. It becomes understood that the agency will take the child under temporary care in a boarding home and that, at intervals agreed upon, the case worker will evaluate the child's progress toward readiness for placement and will report to the referral worker. Perhaps, in this interval, consents for remedial operations or treatments will have to be secured. In all these and other details, the agency's case worker interprets the agency's policies and its practical resources for placing this particular child. In the course of this coöperative exploration of the child's needs and of the agency's capacity to help, clarity as to the probability of the child's placeability emerges. To illustrate: A county children's worker, inexperienced in adoptions, referred a baby of a married woman separated from her husband. The adoption agency case worker pointed out the legal presumption of the child's legitimacy and wondered about the possibilities of the father's participation in future plans for the child. This discussion started a new phase of the case consideration between the county children's worker and the mother, resulting in a clarification of the mother's feelings for her baby and eventually a return of the baby to its mother.

The acceptance of the child is the second step in the case work

contact. The actual break in the relationship with the parents has, in most instances, happened long before this step is taken. The child may have had affectionate care in infancy, and as he became more independent, he may have freed himself from his own family with considerable satisfaction. On the other hand, the child may never have had affection and may therefore cling harder to the familiar. A sudden break may leave him dazed and with a sense of calamity. Preconceived ideas of what a particular situation may have meant to the child, no matter how devastating it may seem to an adult, may lead to misconception. What a child has taken out of a given situation can be told only by the child, and less through his words than by his actions and expression of feelings.

From the first moment that the agency's worker comes into contact with a child, work with the child begins. Perhaps there is nothing to do at first but to give the child a sense of protection. Perhaps the child needs an immediate, brief discussion as to why he has come to the agency and some preparation for the steps which are to be taken in the process of finding him a home. The child's use of toys in the playroom, his acceptance of the boarding parents, resistance to, or coöperation with, the medical examinations, and so on, are some of the ways he has of indicating his readiness to reach out for new experiences or expressing his indifference or rebellion to the world around him.

The case worker, throughout the weeks or months of work with the child, will let him indicate something of his inner growth and his own ways of relating himself to adults and other children and the material world around him. The worker will help him over difficult places by giving generously of support and confidence. At the same time, the child is helped to assume some responsibility for his own behavior. Even young children can participate to an unexpected degree in communicating their need for a particular kind of foster home and in indicating their readiness to venture forth to new relationships.

The case worker knows that readiness for adoption is a relative matter. Sometimes, in an effort to surround the child with protection, and out of fear of taking responsibility for decisions, the

case worker loses precious opportunities for the child and delays him unnecessarily in coming to grips with a living relationship with the members of his adoptive family. Children, when given some support by the worker of the agency, often show an unexpected capacity for adjustment in new surroundings. Fortunately, the very processes of physical growth are on the side of helping the child toward change and development.

It is clearly the policy of the State Charities Aid Association to let the placeability of a child be determined primarily by the child's own capacity to relate himself to a family, and by his ability to meet the usual realities and requirements of everyday living. The formulation of rules which set forth requirements of family background, heredity, health, and mental capacity of a child before he is considered for placement has never been attempted. The agency believes that these are relative matters which cannot be reduced to formulas. The agency has respect for accurate facts and obtains them wherever they are available, and it uses whatever data may have value for the worker, the child, or for his foster parents.

There is a pediatrician on the staff of the Association, and the agency has access to specialists of every kind. It has on its staff a psychologist for babies and one for older children, and a psychiatrist. The findings of the various specialists give the agency a background of knowledge about the child, and a deeper understanding of him than would otherwise be possible. But it is the case work staff which takes the responsibility of deciding whether or not a given child is likely to be able to participate in the give-and-take of life with adoptive parents, and whether or not the agency can find the family which believes that life will have added value if it can have the experience of bringing up this child.

Much has been written about foster home finding. The foster family is a client in one sense, but it also serves the agency and the children under its care. The interview with the applicant for a child is another point of case work contact, and it is probably one of the most exacting of all interviewing responsibilities. The interviewer, in this first contact, has considerable responsibility for making some selection for those families with whom the agency

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moves forward later. The question in the mind of the interviewer has to be, does this family give promise of offering the kind of home that the agency needs for the children under its care?

The interviewer will flounder unless she stays firmly related to the agency's major objective and does not become involved with a foster parent's problems which belong somewhere other than with the adoption agency. Our agency, irrespective of war or peace, depression or prosperity, continually has an oversupply of applicants for very promising young children and an inadequate number of applications for the older children and for those with special problems. This means that the agency is continuously looking for special homes; consequently, the case worker has heavy interviewing responsibilities. The motives which bring families to the agency vary. The stage of readiness to proceed with an adoption plan is by no means the same for each applicant. The degree of adequacy and capacity for foster parenthood varies widely. All of this places on the case worker a definite but restricted responsibility to help these families and not to create new problems. Whatever the applicant's capacity or motivation may be, he has come for help, with a specific request for a child. The interviewer has to keep the focus on the "here and now" of that request. Recently a family with a high-strung, brilliant, adored child of four applied for a child of three. In the discussion of the agency's adoption policies and the needs of the agency's children, it became quickly evident to the applicant that what she really wanted was not another child, but companionship for her four-year-old, such as he might find in a nursery school.

Most applicants with whom the agency moves forward to the next step, that is, to the study of the home, are quite ready to participate in discussing their qualifications as potential foster parents. They share with the worker something of their experiences in their immediate family and in community relationships. They trust the worker with something of their prejudices and hopes and fears in planning for a child. They inform the agency about their health history and present physical condition. They select as references persons who have known them for a long period of time and who can help the worker to estimate their

potential ability as parents. In every contact with the agency, the very sharing of experience by the family and the worker paves the way for future sharing of the child too.

There are some families who feel so protective of the privacy of their family life that it is not possible for them to share their problem of childlessness with an agency. Such families usually seek a new-born child privately, so that "it will be as if the child were born to us." The agency has learned that there is value in dealing frankly with the fact that a family brought into existence by adoption has in it elements which are different from those of the family which has had a child by birth. I do not say that one or the other type of family relationship is better or worse, more superficial or more profound. We know that very deep feelings of love, loyalty, and respect grow out of living together and sharing common experiences. From the very beginning of contact with prospective foster parents the case worker attempts to indicate to them that the agency's children have personalities of their own; that they have had some life experiences even before they came to the agency; and that they are, in part, the result of the life experiences of others.

The family is informed of the importance of telling a child at a very early age that he is adopted. Before a child is placed, the worker shares with the prospective foster parents information about the child's history and something of his development. The foster family is not afraid to discuss with the agency some of the possible differences between a child and themselves that they could readily accept and those about which they might have reservations. The reality of the agency's part in making an adoption placement does not have to be denied, belittled, or romanticized by the family. Moreover, the agency, through making opportunities for some sharing of plans with the prospective foster family can do a great deal toward lessening the problem created by the agency's too great potential power "to give or to withhold a child" for adoption.

While the agency has to take responsibility for the knowledge it possesses, there is no need for autocratic domination. Even in such matters as procedures, choices can be left to the foster fam-

ily, such as to the time of an appointment, or the order in which some of the procedures are to be followed. Sometimes foster families will even choose, if given the opportunity, to assume responsibility for known problems in the children and struggle with them as part of living the experience of parenthood.

By the time the case worker thinks of placement, the next point at which the case work contact has special importance, she knows the child reasonably well. During the child's stay in the temporary home, the case worker has helped him to relate himself to strange people and new places and new experiences. The worker has access to the detailed records of the factual information about the child's family history and his health history, including reports of the findings of the pediatrician and the specialists, the laboratory tests, immunization, and psychometric estimates. There are innumerable other details about the child's life which have significance for him or his prospective foster family. Perhaps there is a photograph, some trinket, a baptismal certificate. The case worker will share with the prospective foster parents relevant information about the child's background and his developmental history, and it is the agency's responsibility to determine what is relevant information in a given situation. The way in which information is given is as much of a case work responsibility as what is told. As a matter of general policy, it is fairly well agreed by all agencies that identifying information about own parents should be withheld from foster parents, just as the identity of foster parents is not given to own parents. Opportunities are provided for the adoptive family and the child to become acquainted in as natural a way as possible.

It is probably at the point of placement that the art and science of child adoption come more sharply into the foreground than at any other point in the process. At no point is it clearer that the actual placement process cannot be reduced to a formula. There is probably no greater variable than the rate and the qualitative difference of a human being's capacity to absorb new experiences. This variable must be understood if the child and the prospective foster family are to have some choice in determining the nature

of the beginning of their life together, and in deciding when and how they wish to do this.

The child may show an unexpected feeling of ease with a particular foster family and exhibit a readiness to move forward into a relationship with them at quite breathtaking speed. On the other hand, a family who seem mature and ready to accept a baby may find themselves overwhelmed with emotion at facing the reality of a particular child to such an extent that time is needed to understand the meaning of the strength of the emotion. No matter how many steps have been taken in preparation for placement, at the actual moment both the foster parents and the child have to face quite complete changes which affect their lives in far-reaching ways. Fear, anticipation, doubt, are probably among the feelings they experience. It is at this point that the worker can be especially helpful by continuing to give support to the child. She can also help the foster parents to realize that a family does not become a family *ipso facto* overnight, but that a living relationship comes gradually and that it deepens with the sharing of common experiences. She may help the family to accept and appreciate both the idea and the experience of knowing that there is joy in difference as well as in likeness.

While the nature of the case worker's contact with the foster family and the foster child after placement varies with the age of the child and the degree and kind of the family integration, the purpose of the continuing relationship is the same. The agency has responsibility for the child's protection and for aiding him and his foster family to live together with satisfaction. The agency provides procedure for the case worker's planned visits both in the home of the foster family or in the office of the agency. The foster family and child immediately after placement are not left to their own devices by the trial-and-error method, nor is their capacity for adaptation and learning from experience underestimated. Help is given by means of visits and interviews and through correspondence.

When the foster family or child presents a problem to the case worker or she observes a situation which will lead to problems, the case worker breaks up the problem into concrete terms of the

immediate time and given stage of its development. This offers an opportunity for the practical grasping of something tangible. For instance, a four-year-old may still be apprehensive and afraid of "being left" by his foster parents. Perhaps a carefully planned visit to the office of the agency with his foster mother to see the worker, and some discussion of his visit to show him that he is staying with his foster mother and will not "be left," may help the child to take one step further toward freeing himself from his anxiety.

Just as the family first shared with the agency the idea of taking a child, the family and the agency share the child during the first period of placement. The agency gradually drops out as time for the legal adoption approaches and the case work relationships with the family come to an end. Legal adoption is a culmination of what has gone before. When the foster parents petition the court, they and the agency, which gives the formal legal consent for the adoption, have just one objective in mind and that is to secure the legal sanction of the state through its court for the formal binding of the family unit, in an orderly way and with the dignity of judicial procedure.

The court's responsibility in granting adoption orders is usually quite clearly defined by law. When there has been case work contact with the child, his own family, and the foster family throughout the placement process, based on good social case work practice, the final review by the court presents no problem. The court recognizes the agency's knowledge of the social aspects of the proposed adoption and its thoughtful consideration of the legal and moral rights of the people involved. After the court has made whatever investigations it considers desirable, or which may be required by law, the formal order of adoption is granted. At this point the agency has achieved its objective for the child and has no further reason for case work contact with the family of the child.

The agency with a sense of responsibility will know, however, that once having had lawful custody of a child and moral responsibility for his well-being, it has acquired obligations and responsibilities which cannot be discharged wholly by a legal adoption

order. It must guard the records of the child, which may contain information that will have an unexpected value to him at some future time. The help which well-organized agencies are now giving to assist adult adopted children in securing birth certificates is a striking example of the unforeseen value of records. Moreover, the agency may serve a useful purpose if it will preserve the records and have them available for interpretation by the case worker should the child or the foster parents need help with a problem, or wish to satisfy some little human need which may arise out of the adoption. Sometimes an adopted child will find satisfaction in seeing someone who knew him before he was adopted, or a foster parent will want to share experiences or get some clarification on a question which had its roots in the adoption situation.

The value of the steps taken in the case work contacts in the process of adoption is difficult to measure in objective terms since it is the very act of taking part in living experience and planning at each step that gives meaning to the contacts. Evaluations, which have been made of the ultimate outcome of groups of adopted children placed by the agency, more than justify the use of well-developed methods of case work practice during the placement process.

It is our assumption that both art and science play a part in child adoption work. That is why adoption cannot be mechanized and routinized. This assumption rests on the presumption that the agency accepts the responsibilities of the disciplines of art and science. Knowledge in the specialized area, disciplined use of knowledge, capacity to exercise imagination within defined areas, and convictions about the essential value of adoption are among the elements which are part of the art and science of adoption. But even back of the disciplined knowledge and action and back of the formal setup and procedures through which the agency's staff works, there must be a concept, deeply rooted in the philosophy of the agency, which expresses faith in the fundamental dignity of the human personality and its right to have a share in the determination of its own destiny.

PROBLEMS OF ADOPTION IN RURAL AREAS

By *RUTH CORY ALESHIRE*

IN CONSIDERING PROBLEMS of adoption in rural areas, we are not only concerned for adoptive children in any isolated area, but we are also interested in exploring some of the differentials of case work in rural territory based upon our present philosophy in adoptive procedure. There are few difficulties in rural adoptions, in either case work or administration, which could not occur also in urban areas, but it is helpful to have this narrower focus. The problems in rural areas are often unique to the particular localities and, in general, are emphasized or exaggerated where there are distinct cultural differences or the mores are less understood.

Our goals in adoptions have their roots in what we know of children's ever present need for belonging to a normal family group; to be cherished, protected; and to be given every opportunity for normalcy and happiness. The process of adoption follows the significant emotional experience of a child's being separated from his own family group. We are only beginning to understand the implications which this has for him.

While we should not assume that everything is necessarily problematical in its sociological aspects which does not have its roots in urban life, there are many indications that rural people and rural community life are too little understood to reach conclusions about them. This may be considered the first problem which the rural worker encounters, not only in adoptions, but in other agency responsibility, and it impedes her from seeing the inter-

play of cultural patterns and individual expression as it pertains to adjustment in family life. Grace Browning has appropriately explained this:

The caseworker trained to an individual approach and firm in her respect for individual differences is naturally skeptical of many of the superficial observations and generalizations in the field of rural-urban differences. Neither those who see the individual only as a specimen of a group nor those who attempt to treat the individual without knowledge of or reference to his whole milieu will find the path to understanding.

Undeniably the rural community pressures which coerce the individual and help to shape his personality are, in turn, shaped by the personalities which have been produced by the rural family, school, church, and neighborhood.¹

The second problem is one which often becomes very complex and, presumably, case workers would like to feel that it is peripheral to their field of operation. This is the almost universal problem of adoption laws or their legal aspect, which is in reality more related to administration than case work. However, without the proper legislative framework the agency's function is seriously handicapped. Our objectives in adoption are to make placements whereby the children and the adoptive and natural parents are safeguarded. The placement for adoption should work out to the ultimate happiness of both the child and the adoptive parents. The adoptive procedure is not begun until it has been definitely established that a child must be permanently separated from his natural family; the subsequent adoptive placement, the separation experience, is fraught with emotional hazards. This is not an ephemeral procedure, but one requiring skill, study, and supervision; because of the potential dangers it is a procedure which cannot be left entirely to voluntary client participation. Without the protection of the law the adoptive procedure too often collapses.

The situation in regard to adoptive legislation in this country is not too depressing. Thirty states require a social investigation

¹ Grace Browning, *Rural Public Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 98.

of adoption petitions.² According to Mary Ruth Colby, of the United States Children's Bureau, there are now sixteen states that require a recommendation from the state department of welfare as to the desirability of the adoption. It may or may not be significant that only five of these are in the group of the sixteen states having the largest distribution of rural population in 1940. There are, however, many differences in the adoption laws in the various states and they encompass a wide range of statutes. More research is necessary before laws will become enabling devices rather than limitations to function. Perhaps we can eventually hope for some uniformity in state laws, especially as they pertain to residence. In some instances the law may be technically operable and yet prevent the satisfactory solution in an individual case. We can summarize by pointing out a few of the essential provisions which may be considered tools rather than restrictions for the worker: The social agency should have a certain amount of responsibility in the adoption proceeding; proper consent should be obtained; there must be a sufficient time for study of the placement and for supervision after placement is made; the confidential material must be safeguarded, not only in the agency, but in the court and in the community; provision must be made for a change in birth certificate so that illegitimacy will not be revealed; and the rights of inheritance of adoptive children must be provided for.

Enactment of laws will not prove a panacea for all adoption ills. If the law requires that social agencies should participate, the participating agencies must maintain high standards and produce such satisfactory results that the spirit of the law as well as the letter will be kept. Social workers should find out what they want in adoption laws and to reconcile these findings with their goals in case work; it is also their privilege to help legislators to solve the riddle of how we can always focus on the needs of people despite an apparent labyrinth of technicalities.

The third problem also belongs more clearly to administration than to case work. It is the dearth of resources which are so vital

² Mary Ruth Colby, "Progress in Adoption Legislation" (United States Children's Bureau).

to carrying through satisfactory adoptive placements in rural areas. Again, this has a direct influence on the type of case work. The worker will soon discover in making her way in rural territory that there are numerous resources which she will need desperately but which she may not have. These include: study homes, psychometric examinations, complete family histories from other agencies, clinical studies, medical examinations, legal aid service, etc. More often than not, it is necessary for the worker to rely upon her ingenuity.

Not in a special category of problems, but closely allied to this lack of resources, is the problem of the worker herself and the agency which she represents. Who is she? From where did she come? What are her especial qualifications for the work she is doing? And how does she represent the agency by the quality of her work? We have insisted that social agencies should participate in adoptions; now we are confronted with this realistic question: Has the social agency a more legitimate contribution to make to this process than the office of the county clerk, the department of public health, or the schoolteacher? In brief, does the skill of the case worker in a rural agency justify the haranguing which goes on to include adoptions as part of the agency's legitimate business? If the worker is qualified to prove that the adoptions which she participates in do terminate satisfactorily because of her special knowledge, training, and skill, then she has proved something, not only to social work, but to the community. The fact that a worker is in rural territory does not justify inefficiency, a laissez-faire attitude, or a feeling of hopelessness. Bessie E. Trout, director of training of the Bureau of Child Welfare, New York State Department of Social Welfare, has written of this in her article "In-Service Training as a Program for Staff Development,"³ in a bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, in which she says that it is easy for the worker to rationalize inactivity. Training, she says, helps the worker to realize that she has a responsibility to interpret the needs of children to the community. Miss Trout goes on to describe the local worker as one who

³ Bessie E. Trout, "In-Service Training as a Program for Staff Development," *Bulletin*, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., October, 1941.

is a part of the community, sharing its general attitudes, whose training should help her to gain perspective.

The fourth problem seems to be a combination of intangible factors, and yet it is perhaps the one which causes case workers the most vital concern. It is difficult to phrase so that it conveys exactly the meaning it should, but we may say that through lack of understanding, faulty legislation, and inadequate interpretation, adoption has for too long a time been "anybody's business." This is partly attributable to the sentimental nature of adoptions: babies need homes, and good respectable people want children. There is an appeal, a certain warmth and attractiveness.

Occasionally a worker is confronted by complex situations in which she seems to be struggling alone, situations in which the community—actually a group expression or force—makes the decision regarding the placement or adoption of the child and undertakes to carry it through. This is the point at which the worker begins to separate herself professionally from the community even though she may be personally an integral part of it. A family may have been socially acceptable for a period of years in a community, paid its debts, and occupied the same house for forty years—yet the case worker may see valid reasons why this family cannot be considered for adoptive parents. In the rural community it is not enough to interpret to the prospective adoptive family the reasons why they cannot expect to become adoptive parents. There is always the chance that the worker will be asked point-blank why the Smith baby from the other side of the county hasn't been brought over to the A. home as the A.'s said it would be. Therefore, it may become necessary to explain at least a few of the reasons for the worker's decision to the county judge, to the school principal, to several neighbors, to the minister, the sheriff, and numerous others. This process of separating herself professionally is a painful one for the worker and may involve subtle shades of meaning for all concerned. The worker may be the only one in a particular situation who has the poise and stability to make the decisions and to carry through what is finally best for the welfare of the child.

The fifth problem includes the difficulties encountered in keeping adoption data and material confidential. How to keep any case material confidential when it is being discussed for a radius of seventy-five miles is a problem which will not be soon solved. News in rural communities is different from news in urban territory. It has a more personal and intimate quality; because of the simplicity of living and, often, the actual isolation, whatever a neighbor or an acquaintance does is worthy of comment. Since the problem of the unmarried parent is a companion problem to that of adoption, there are serious implications for the child, the natural parent, and the adoptive parent. Who tells about it? You don't need too much imagination to see that when Mr. and Mrs. A. go into the county seat one Saturday afternoon and return with a six-weeks-old-baby, an explanation is due regarding a good many things. Where did the baby come from? Is this the one they have been planning to get? How old is it? Who are the child's natural parents? If the adoptive parents have the protection of not knowing the identity of the natural parents, this may be helpful to them, but it will not make the neighbors any more comfortable. The worker has a constant job of interpretation to the adoptive parents as to their responsibility; she can enable them to remain stable through this emotional experience, and she may also give a measure of protection to the natural parents if it is within the realm of possibility.

The following illustration is used to present more forcibly these problems as the case worker actually confronts them. The situation of Mary L. was reported by a board member of the public agency with the explanation that this member had some misgivings about the circumstances of the adoption of Mary's illegitimate child and "felt sorry for such a young girl." The worker's interview with the mother and the study of the case revealed the following:

Mary had lived in an isolated, rural territory in a family of low economic level. She was seventeen, unmarried, and emotionally upset about her pregnancy. As the time for the delivery approached, she became so distraught that her parents insisted she should ask the county doctor for advice. (The county doctor is a

physician who is paid an annual fee for medical service to "the county poor.") Mary visited him reluctantly but knew of no place else to go for help. The doctor was willing to deliver the baby if Mary would agree to sign a statement giving him full authority to place the baby for adoption as soon as it was born, in lieu of paying for his medical services, which he estimated would be thirty dollars. He gave as the reasons for this suggestion her inability to provide for a child, lack of assistance from the putative father, and the opportunities which adoptive parents could give. Mary said emphatically that she wanted her baby and might later manage to care for it, but since she felt that she had no alternative, she signed the statement.

The baby was placed by the doctor in an adoptive home immediately after birth; the adoptive parents agreed to pay temporary care for the mother "in a home the doctor knew about." This home offered no special services for maternity care, but Mrs. B., the landlady, concurred wholeheartedly with the doctor's arrangements, telling Mary that her child would be "better off with people who could provide for it." In discussing the case Mrs. B. happened to relate this interesting story to the board member who in turn referred the case to the agency.

Further study revealed that the adoption of Mary's illegitimate child had already been initiated in the court. The adoptive parents were not well known, since they had only recently moved to the state. They had hired a lawyer, and since the locale was in a rural state in which the adoption law required a decree by the judge "in his discretion," the entire adoptive procedure could be completed within a few weeks.

In reviewing some of the facts in the case which are illustrative of these problems, we find that, first, Mary goes to the county doctor for advice. She does not know of a social agency where she might get help (the case work program for children as part of the regular public welfare program had been initiated only recently in this county). It must not be forgotten that judges, ministers, doctors, and other persons have for years assisted those in difficulty in rural localities.

Second, the doctor feels quite competent to handle the situa-

tion. He considers that it is quite within the area of his profession; and he, too, does his job of interpretation. Adoption is actually considered "anybody's business."

Third, the personal life of this girl becomes a matter of public discussion and almost public decision. Her child is placed with people who are in the same county; the natural parent and the adoptive parents know something of each other and have seen each other. The natural father also lives very near. The circumstances of the adoption are already known to many people in the vicinity and will be known to a greater number within a short period of time. Already the county doctor, the lawyer, the adoptive parents, Mrs. B., her neighbors, and the neighbors of Mary's parents have discussed this rather interesting topic and have already begun "to take sides." What Mary hopes, what she needs, and what she herself wants for her child are obscured. Yet she is discussed freely and occasionally with some imagination.

Fourth, the law, or rather the lack of it, in this situation is a limitation. The adoptive parents are within their legal rights. They have hired a lawyer who agrees that they are doing a noble thing. Now, if the circuit judge will merely say "Yes" to this adoption, the procedure will have been completed to the satisfaction of almost everybody concerned. Yet there has been no study of the child to be placed or of the adoptive parents; no supervision is required. If it does not work, the child will already be adopted, and here begins a new problem which may eventually get to the agency.

Fifth, the worker, herself, in this situation, might be a problem. We have said that the worker, if she is acceptable to the rural community at all, is definitely identified with the community. There is a possibility that the worker falls back upon the phrase which Miss Trout uses, "You can go only as fast as your community will let you,"⁴ and crystallizes her activity by an explanation to the board member that since the adoption is already under way there is nothing she can do.

Well, what happened? What can the worker do? What did she do? Too often the worker reaches a certain stage in her develop-

⁴*Ibid.*

ment where she can too readily see the problems but cannot transcend to a happier sphere in which she is able to do anything about them.

The first thing the worker did was to become acquainted with this girl as an individual. Mary proved to have an intriguing personality, a capacity for self-direction, and a desperate desire to keep her baby. The worker felt it was this girl's inalienable right to have some participation in decisions regarding her baby. Thus far she had not had this opportunity. Realizing that she had a potential ally in the board member who had referred the case, the worker presented the facts to the board. As a deliberate method of interpretation she spoke of the child as "the baby on which a mortgage had been placed" and she used terms which the board understood in asking to have the mother recognized as a responsible parent. She asked for the privilege of placing the mother and the baby in an approved boarding home for a study period (provided that the adoption proceedings did not go through and the child and the mother could be reunited). The worker next went to the circuit judge who was to hear the case. She requested that the hearing be delayed for a period of time while a study of the mother and of the child's potentialities might be made and a report given. The free services of a lawyer were also requested in order that the mother would feel that she had legal representation at the time of the hearing and that the worker might have advice on legal technicalities. There followed interpretation of the worker's plan to the lawyer of the adoptive parents and to Mary's own family. As the momentum in the community for the "rights" of Mary increased, the determination of the adoptive parents and their lawyer declined to such a degree that the baby was returned to the mother and the placement in a study home made. Actually, the hearing never took place.

The solutions of such problems are the responsibility of legislators, the courts, the workers, and all members of a community. What we are asking for adoptive children is that their total life experiences shall hold as little of the traumatic as possible, and that the processes of separation from natural parents and the eventual placement into another family unit will be done skill-

fully, thoughtfully, with full knowledge of the implications. An adopted child is a child who is differentiated; something has happened to him which probably has not happened to his playmates. The full impact of this cannot be fully comprehended unless one has really experienced it, but to the case worker in rural areas is given the unique and interminable responsibility of seeing that this child's life shall not be hazardous, but rather a satisfying experience through which he may develop to his fullest capacity.

WHAT FACILITIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE ADEQUATE CARE OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER?

By *RUTH F. BRENNER*

EVERY SOCIAL WORKER whose primary responsibility consists of case work with unmarried mothers is faced with a very real challenge today. Many of our potential clients have deliberately avoided a recognized agency. Instead, they have found help through private physicians, lawyers, or so-called commercial agencies, and their babies become the commodity which supports each community's bootleg adoption practice, a disturbing and even terrifying fact for us to face. Professionally responsible workers are forced to ask whether such facts do not point up some grave inadequacy in our present services to unmarried mothers, however aware we may be that this is not the only contributing factor to the problem. Nevertheless, our responsibility is such a factor, and one about which we can do something if it seems indicated.

Our first question might naturally concern the quantitative aspects of the problem: Are there sufficient facilities in the community to take care of all unmarried mothers and their children? In our urban communities and even in many semirural communities there are both public and private case work agencies which are devoted exclusively to work with the unmarried mother or have separate departments for that purpose. Other agencies, in their general consultative service to families, offer help to unmarried families also, and in addition there are sufficient clinics, hospitals, and maternity homes in many of our communities to

take care of these needs. Therefore, the problem does not seem to be a matter of number, except in rural or semirural communities. The question of providing additional service and facilities is a comparatively clear one and needs to be worked out by local county and state departments. The more difficult problem concerns kind, or quality, of service available, for on this largely depends the fate of thousands of unmarried mothers and of almost seventy-five thousand babies, both Negro and white, who are born each year of unmarried parents in these United States.

Before we explore this question of the kind and quality of case work which existing agencies offer, we need to consider two elements which are peculiarly intensified in the case work situation of the unmarried mother and which may influence the agencies' services. In the first place, we cannot consider service for the mother apart from service for her child, for their interrelationship exists, and no mere administrative separation of functions will alter this fact. If we operate on the accepted case work tenet that we can only communicate with or reach our client at the point of the client's anxiety, or concern, how can we hope to make contact with the unmarried mother in any other way than around her present anxiety, which is always bound up with her relationship to her child. Even her concern for her family is tied up to this relationship to the child. Nevertheless, many communities, disregarding this essential aspect of case work with unmarried mothers, insist upon an administrative separation of functions which might be ludicrous if it were not so tragic. It is not unusual in New York City, for example, to have one institution administer medical care, another give support, while the public agency may be drawn in to consider the merits of surrender of the child, and still a fourth agency places the child for adoption, while a fifth may do boarding placements. Frequently a girl may have to go from office to office, from worker to worker, repeating her story, becoming increasingly confused, resentful and embittered by the necessity of consulting with so many different workers whose attitudes vary all the way from kindly, understanding, and helpful to disapproving and rigidly hostile.

Whatever may be the justification in philosophy or practice for

this separation of agency function, the client will inevitably interpret it as evidence of hostility on the part of the agencies—a conclusion which is often only too well founded. We must recognize that our culture tends to repudiate and stigmatize any girl or woman who breaks the conventional moral code. Every one of us reacts quite normally when our first and unprofessional response is the primitive tabu attitude of withdrawal: the untouchability, ostracism, and finally punishment of the evil one. Not one of us enjoys facing the full implications of such primitive, unconscious, and unprofessional reactions to unmarried parenthood. Nevertheless, these attitudes in smaller or larger degrees are society's response, and therefore may be characteristic also of the institutions through which society functions and of the workers who live in that society and constitute the personnel of the institutions. Only by recognizing the full implications of these attitudes shall we be able to modify and change them in order to function with the fine control that we need in the practice of our profession. We have stressed the need for greater understanding of psychological implications, in order that case work might direct itself more helpfully to these problems instead of remaining too often aloof and unrelated to the real anxieties of unmarried mothers. When the proper case work attitude is lacking, we can well understand the hopelessness, subtle defiance, and confusion with which an unmarried mother will react to a worker who entertains, however unconsciously, a punishing attitude. All of us in our general case work philosophy stress the vital importance of an effective case work relationship with the client, but this point is of special significance in work with unmarried mothers. With them, more frequently perhaps than with any other type of client, the case worker has the opportunity, and therefore the responsibility, of establishing with a client what may be her first constructive relationship with an adult.

In order to understand this, let us first consider the typical unmarried mother, first as the psychiatrist sees her, then as the case worker must view her. Last year, Dr. Florence Clothier, in a paper on "Psychological Implications of Unmarried Parenthood," said that,

Illegitimate motherhood, like all motherhood, has as its psychological background an urge to solve old conflicts and to fulfill deep personality needs. Unmarried motherhood in our culture represents a distorted and unrealistic way out of inner difficulties and is thus comparable to neurotic symptoms on the one hand and delinquent behavior on the other. The choice of unmarried motherhood as a way out or a solution of unconscious conflicts depends on external environmental factors, including the girl's childhood reality relationships with her parents. . . .

Obviously, however, treatment of emotional conflicts that are too deep seated is not within the province of the case worker.

The case worker sees unmarried mothers as predominantly girls between eighteen and twenty-two years of age, many of them from broken homes, or homes where constant quarreling was the keynote of the parents' relationship. Economic hardship was often characteristic of their growing years, causing the curtailment of their education and hasty precipitation from their homes and the schoolrooms, the child's world, into the adult working world with its enforced assumption of maturity and the need of coping with new problems and responsibilities. Such a sudden cutting away of family ties, particularly for immature and emotionally disturbed persons, is a psychological amputation, with a wound which seldom heals completely. Add to this the fact that there is little of a satisfying or positive nature in the jobs which they are usually able to find, such as housework; nothing which gives them any pride in their own accomplishment. Literally, they have nothing left. They are typically lonely, quiet, apparently conforming, immature young women. They are timid and insecure in their relationships with others and utterly unprepared to protect themselves in any of the more normal adult relationships. If it was emotional immaturity growing out of destructive relationships with their parents which brought them to their present state of distress and social rejection, what can we say of the specific relationships which caused their unmarried motherhood? With what misdirected and self-defeating efforts to establish a normal adult relationship did these girls enter into or seek the relationship with the men who fathered their children? And now once again the most important person in their lives has deserted and

rejected them; their fantasies, their unrealistic hopes and strivings are once more defeated.

At this point of their darkest disillusion and deepest humiliation unmarried mothers come to us, with the smallest hope of finding, for the first time in their lives, a realistic and constructive relationship with an adult person. We are not psychiatrists, but within the scope of our competence we are concerned with our client's adaptation to the world as it exists. We cannot treat her deep-seated conflicts, but we must gain as much understanding and insight into them, with the help of psychiatric interpretation, as will enable us to deal more effectively with her conscious strivings and concerns. Such deeper understanding should also assist us to establish a warmer and more professionally responsible relationship with her. By this added knowledge we are also enabled to give her acceptance as well as support in order that she may face the bitter realities of planning for her illegitimate baby, and strengthen her timid efforts to seek new satisfactions and sublimations, sometimes in work, sometimes in recreation newly discovered, and in relationships with people. That these girls are aware of the meaning for them of such a relationship with a case worker shows clearly in this excerpt from a letter written to a worker who was to be transferred.

I was rather shocked when I read you were to be placed there, maybe because I felt I again was to lose a friend, someone whom I could and did turn to in all my troubles. This is the way I have felt about others whom I have lost. However, I hope that this is not true that I am losing you but I do want you to know that I appreciate and always will appreciate everything you did for me. I don't think that I would have recovered as well and as far as I have if you had not been so kind and understanding.

Yet, profound though their need is for this kind of case work relationship, we again must raise the question: Why do so many fail to apply to us for service? In the numerous private adoptions which take place every year, where many of these mothers fail to get in touch with any case work service but, instead, consent to the placement of their babies in private families by doctors or lawyers, we have ample evidence that a majority probably do not

reach us. In the surrogate's court of New York County alone last year, only 35 percent of the adoptions were so-called agency placements. Do these girls instinctively and justifiably sense that they will meet rigid and unsympathetic attitudes and that narrow agency policies will override their own desires to preserve their secret or to work out their plans in some way of their own choosing?

Perhaps we can find some answer to these questions in the experiment carried on by a national organization. A report of this experiment was published in January, 1942, entitled *Letters from Unmarried Mothers—What Answer?* The study tells of a column in a popular magazine written by a woman physician who receives about twenty letters a month from pregnant unmarried girls, located all over the country, pleading for advice and assistance. The services of an experienced worker were offered to answer these letters for a period of time and to try to direct the writers to the proper agencies in their respective communities. The report goes on to note that

Social workers interested in the problem of illegitimacy will ask why these girls do not use the already existing social agencies. Do they know that service is available in their own state or has their experience been such that they prefer not to use a social agency? The letters of twenty-eight girls reveal that they are living in a small town or in a rural area where social service may not be easily available and eleven girls live in urban areas where there are social agencies providing case-work service.

Nevertheless, we must ask why the efforts to secure skilled case work service for some of these girls were so sadly frustrated by the limited concept and interpretation of these services by the very agencies and maternity homes to which appeals were made in their behalf.

I was permitted to select some letters, with all identifying information changed, of course, to include in this paper. The letters of a resident of an urban community were chosen, a girl whom we might regard as typical of unmarried mothers as well as typical in the personality make-up which sometimes fails to get the service so badly needed. I am alluding to the small remnant of

self-respect and pride displayed by the writer of the letter which follows, which determined her to conceal her secret from her family. Too many agencies and, therefore, their workers, are unaware of the value of such an attitude, of its suggestion of some strength which could be developed:

DEAR DR. G.:

About four months ago I appealed to you for help and advice. I told you how I had been taken in by the R. family when I was only sixteen and had to leave school because of financial difficulties at home. I stayed at the R. home for six years taking care of their three children and doing the housework in return for my room and board. During my stay there I became involved with a friend of theirs, a man who was separated from his wife. I became intimate with him one night, not because I loved him (I know that now), but because I felt sorry for him. Had I known the heartache this relationship was going to cause me I would rather have died than submit to him. When I learned that I was going to have a child he suggested abortion and I almost was swayed by his arguments. But instead I wrote to you and you sent me the names of two homes where I could apply for help. I did apply to the Ellsworth Maternity Home in Cedar, but because they had no room the woman sent me to the Brookside Maternity Home. The Head of this home sent me to an agency and they in turn sent me to the family organization. I've had to tell and retell my story so often that I feel I'm on trial for murder.

At the family organization my case worker urged me to tell my parents of my condition. You see, I want to keep my condition a secret in order to protect my sister now thirteen and to give her a better chance in life than I have had. When I told the worker my parents cannot help me and I would rather die than shatter their faith in me and that I would bring unnecessary heartache into my sister's life, she gave me the choice of these plans: (1) To apply to the public relief and rent a room in Cedar; (2) to go to the Brookside Maternity Home; and (3) to stay at home and have my parents help me.

I chose the second plan, since I would not have to tell my family, and was sent to public relief so they would finance my care at Brookside. Mr. Long there told me that he could not spend public funds for girls like me because it would encourage other girls to have illegitimate children. He also told me that a girl of twenty-three should look before she leaped. Oh, I know I have done wrong, but it is my first mistake and must it ruin my whole life?

But four months have gone by and I'm nearly crazy trying to keep

my secret from becoming known. To be taken into the maternity home I must pay a dollar a day and seventy-five dollars at the end of my confinement. My parents are barely making ends meet and now that I am home they are more heavily burdened. Yet I am repeatedly asked how much my family can contribute for my stay in the home. Would I have done better had I submitted to abortion? Oh please, Dr. G., where can I hide till this is over? Is there no place for girls like me? Please help me as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Obviously, in her phrase that she "had to leave school" was regret that her education could not be completed. At one time, this girl had ambition and some ego organization, which may be dormant and may need only the supportive treatment of a skilled case worker to reactivate it. There is ample evidence, however, of a self-defeating trend, because working for six years on an exacting and disagreeable job which pays no real wages is the strongest evidence of a self-punishing personality with which it is difficult to cope in the case work relationship. Yet we have some clues to psychologically healthier trends, for this girl wants to keep the good opinion of her family and not tell them of her present plight. While she followed submissively the suggestions of each person to whom she spoke, nevertheless she pleaded her cause under circumstances that would have caused many a stronger person to quail. We can only conclude that she has some strength on which she could rely with increasing confidence if she were fortified by a supportive relationship with a case worker.

After a plea to a local agency to help the girl, the agency worker reported to the national organization how they had assisted Miss E. and what steps they had taken.

One of the functions of this agency, together with other family agencies in this particular community, was to assume case work responsibility for unmarried mothers. Such service included help with their "personal problems" as well as a referral service to resources for medical care and to the public agency for their support. We recall that after Miss E. had written to Dr. G., she was referred to two maternity organizations in the community, one of which referred her to another private agency. Then, because her family had been known to the family organization, she was

sent on to that office. This already meant three contacts with different workers before she finally saw the worker of the family organization. In all the previous contacts she had been told that for one reason or another she could not qualify for the agency's service or that they had no room for her, equally discouraging to a desperately anxious girl. At the family organization Miss E. revealed her eagerness to work out plans without her family knowing anything about her situation. However, we learned from Miss E.'s letter that the case worker tried to persuade her to do otherwise and all the plans suggested to her were contingent on this. Still later correspondence brought out the fact that the agency's policy was to accept responsibility for an unmarried mother only if she shared knowledge of her pregnancy with her family. If she were unwilling to do this, she would be directed to the public agency for support while she stayed in a maternity home or lived in a furnished room prior to confinement. Miss E., we saw from correspondence not quoted here, cleverly chose to explain her wish for secrecy to the case worker on the basis most acceptable to the case worker, intended to arouse her sympathy rather than to emphasize Miss E.'s need to hold on to her self-respect and pride. For example, she stressed her parents' foreign birth, their lack of sympathy with American customs and with their American-born children, their expectation that she would give up her education to contribute to her own and their support. She likewise sought to convince the case worker that her parents would disown her if they found out the truth. This is a very different attitude from the one revealed in her letter to Dr. G. in which we felt she spoke more freely when she wrote, "I would rather die than shatter their faith in me." Because of this impasse to establishing a case work relationship, Miss E. was referred to the public department to discuss support. This was the fifth person she had seen and the fifth agency to which she had made application. After this, she returned to the family organization and we learned from later letters that they offered her a variety of plans, only three of which she mentions in her letter. With one exception, however, each involved enlightening her family. The first plan was to rent a room in town, register at a hospital, and apply

for public relief; the second was to use an agency foster home supported by the public department; the third was to remain at home, apply for public relief, and attend a prenatal clinic; the fourth was to go to a strange city, get employment, and apply to an agency for help; the fifth was to go to Brookside Maternity Home on a free basis until after the baby's birth and then arrange for support. She decided on the latter plan, since it held out the possibility of keeping the situation secret, and wrote her baby's father for financial help, explaining possible court action. Our last information was that she was awaiting his reply.

Although one case cannot give us the answer to our question, when we multiply this case by thirty-eight others with whom there was correspondence, the cumulative evidence suggests that it is a fact that existing services do not meet the needs of unmarried mothers. The problem presented by Miss E.'s community certainly did not arise from any lack of maternity home and agency facilities, but directly out of the kind and quality of service which the existing agencies offered her. In what way did the agency meet this client's need? Does referring her to other agencies constitute a service if no responsibility is taken to assist her in making the contact? By presenting the facts, and thus assuring her of acceptance, we save her an unnecessary contact by ascertaining whether she will be rejected. If a family agency is to become a referral service for unmarried mothers, then it has a responsibility to do a skillful referral job. Otherwise, clients may become discouraged by refusals and turn to other sources of assistance. In what way was Miss E. assisted with her "personal problems"? Was it not because she felt so shut off from understanding help that she turned to a magazine column for advice in her desperation? Just why this particular family agency was unable to assist Miss E. financially we do not know. However, the situation does point up the need to have either some funds available for relief or else a close reciprocal relationship with the public agency. It is conceivable then, that the public agency might administer relief while the private agency carries the service responsibility which invariably requires intensive follow-up.

This case situation graphically emphasizes the need for agencies

to be flexible in their policies. Insisting that Miss E. tell her parents, before she had worked through her objections, obviously created an impasse between worker and client. Would it not be wise for an agency to review its policies by a research approach, when feasible, and to ascertain the effect of its policies? For example, careful consideration of the effects of one agency's insistence on a six-months waiting period before accepting a mother's surrender of her child convinced the agency that such a policy often caused unnecessary hardship. Actually, our increasing knowledge of the psychological implications of unmarried motherhood should help agencies to determine better policies, for these, after all, are created for the welfare and protection of the agency's clients. Therefore, their very goal will always be defeated if the staff too rigidly tries to cut clients to fit policies.

Suppose Miss E. had merely sought the help of a private physician. Assuming that the physician was reasonably decent and kind, he would have been sympathetic and concerned for his patient's dilemma. In order to help her, he might have remembered some couple who wanted to adopt a child because they were unable to have their own, or some mother who had just lost her own child, and just as quickly as that he might have arranged for Miss E.'s support and confinement through the financial help of the baby's prospective adoptive parents. He might or might not have secured a reasonable fee for his own services. Miss E. would have been treated kindly; her wish to preserve her pride would have been given recognition by a man who had some professional standing in the community. She might have been reassured by him that she was making the wisest possible decision for both herself, her family, and the child, so that when the confinement was over she could have come out of the experience with a little less damage to her self-respect.

Contrast the directness, simplicity, and essential decency and kindness of this procedure with the succession of conferences with various workers to which Miss E. was subjected; the unfriendly, judgmental, and unkind attitudes to which she had to submit; the extreme anxiety which she had unnecessarily to suffer because of the agency's failure to identify with her desire to protect her

family; the fact that after four months of negotiations she still could not look forward with any certainty to a plan which would give her reasonably decent care for her confinement and the necessary protection for herself and her child.

You may be wondering at this point whether I believe that an unmarried mother is better off if she finds such help through her physician rather than through the social agencies. On the contrary, it is only because I am convinced that there is no substitute for skilled case work service that I feel so strongly our responsibility and obligation to make these services more readily available.

In considering a sound and practical community program for case work with unmarried mothers there is much to be learned from the correspondence with this unmarried mother. We have already raised questions concerning the dangers inherent in too rigid policies or their too rigid interpretation, and the importance of following up and assisting with referrals, as well as the necessity of having relief available for unmarried mothers. Of greater importance to such a client is the advantage to be gained by the dovetailing of functions in a multiple-function agency, or else, where functions are divided among a number of agencies in the community, by a dovetailing of agencies' services.

I saw, for example, the benefits to be gained by such a client when she applied to a certain multiple-function agency in St. Louis. Often, the girl saw the same worker from the beginning of her contact because administratively it was possible to assign the case from its inception to the worker who would carry it. A responsibly professional but supportive relationship assisted the mother through all the uncertainties of prenatal, confinement, and postnatal periods, and helped her in planning for her child. The same worker could be responsible for placement of the child and could help the mother to clarify the complex of feelings she had about him. Such a service had many of the advantages of the physician's more direct and simple action with none of the disadvantages. Obviously, a trained social worker is far better able to mobilize and evaluate such a mother's feelings for her child and to direct her to resources for carrying out the solution which seems most acceptable to her. She likewise can arrange scien-

tifically for placement of the child (if this is the solution the mother desires) in contrast to the unplanned placement by the doctor.

If a community has many agencies, as in New York City, with an almost frightening division of function, then only through close coördination of these services can the client be saved needless suffering and unhappiness. Chasing a mother from agency to agency has an element of cruelty of which we need to be aware, so that we learn to weigh a referral very carefully and then send our client to another agency and a new worker only when we have prepared the ground for the contact. A well-coördinated community program could reduce these referrals to a minimum and is undoubtedly the result for which we need to work with all possible speed. As a part of every community program we also need a campaign of public education concerning illegitimacy, how and where mothers might apply for service, of what the service consists, what is involved in planful child placement, and its advantages for mother and child as well as adoptive parents in contrast to the bootleg adoption practices.

Case work agencies in each community could carry on research projects to examine further a number of areas with a view to improved treatment methods. For example, the problem of the married woman who has an illegitimate baby is still unexplored and presents an opportunity to a private family agency to broaden our concept of the psychological implications of this situation, and by such deeper understanding to achieve better methods of case work.

Finally, there is the question of the personnel who are qualified to carry on this service. Because work with unmarried mothers bears with it heavier responsibilities and therefore is more conducive to anxieties in the worker than many other services, we suggest that only those workers who are fortified by their skills, maturity, and experience be selected. Service to these clients undoubtedly can be enriched by specialization in their problems, at least for a time. A family agency, with district offices, could designate one worker in each district as the specialist in such services. These workers should then meet regularly with the agency's case

consultant, to pool their thinking and share their experiences. Above all, an agency has a very real responsibility to select workers who are free of moral judgments for which there is no place in case work philosophy. No obstetrician does a less competent delivery because his patient is unmarried; neither does a skin specialist adopt a moral attitude in treating his venereally infected patients. In the same way it is untenable for us to make moral judgments of our clients.

SOCIAL WORK RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DAY CARE

By CATHRYN S. GUYLER

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS of women are needed in war-production industries. Consequently, women by the hundreds of thousands will seek employment outside their homes, and their reasons and needs for doing this will be individual, and therefore different. These needs are due to economic and personal pressures which will not necessarily fall first and hardest on unmarried women or women without young children. It will be the individual need and willingness of women to work that will provide the answer to the nation's call for woman power.

Mothers of young children are going into war jobs in increasing numbers. This is and will be true to a varying extent in different communities and will depend upon the degree of the community's participation in the war effort, the length and breadth of the production fight, the costs of living, and the opportunities for family financial security without the mother's employment. We subscribe wholeheartedly to the statement made by Miss Frances Perkins "that mothers of young children can make no finer contribution to the strength of the nation and its vitality and effectiveness in the future than to assure their children the security of home, individual care, and affection." Notwithstanding this, let us admit that mothers have been working and separating themselves from their children during the day for many years. The development of the day nursery movement, following the Industrial Revolution, was an acknowledgment of the fact that mothers had to work for the support of their families and

that day care should be provided for their children. The efforts of social work have been wisely directed at combating the economic causes of separation of families. We have used our skills to define the value of family life and to point up community responsibility for providing financial subsidies so that mothers might be at home with their children. Communities have accepted this philosophy and its attendant financial responsibility in varying degrees. Nowhere, even in peacetime, has the ideal of a secure home for every child been a reality. Development of community responsibility and the need of its individual families move at different paces.

We can only speculate about the extent to which the present emergency will make new economic demands on families and will point to the necessity for mothers going to work. Husbands and sons are going into the armed forces, and as yet there is no routine public provision for family support. Costs of living are increasing. Many families for the first time will pay income taxes, and beyond this are large groups of families who have for many years lived on relief allowances or substandard incomes. Through increased social security, in part, at least, we have moved toward the removal of the economic need for women to work. As our understanding of human behavior has increased, however, we have become aware that there are mothers whose emotional or psychological needs lead them to seek employment.

We can only speculate about the degree to which emotional pressures will mount and may result in mothers going to work. We know that families are moving to new industrial centers, and that friends, neighbors, and community satisfactions are often lost; trailer camps and inadequate living quarters do not always provide favorable homemaking laboratories. There are tensions due to the very fact of war. Then too there is something in the very air that beckons each of us to service outside our usual sphere—something that spells restlessness, insecurity, and disquiet. The present emergency has set a stamp of approval upon women's working in terms of national need and has afforded greater employment opportunity to them.

The nation's need for woman power will be answered com-

munity by community. With its answer the community has a responsibility to plan in such a way that there is a minimum of disruption on the home front. The women who are working and their children will be a substantial part of the community when the last shot has been fired. They will be a large source of power in the rebuilding of our world, or they will be a devastated, wasted, and costly group for reclaiming.

This is not the time to debate whether mothers should or should not work. Nor is it the time to debate whether we believe in all-day care for children away from their mothers. Our responsibility as social workers in the present situation is threefold: (1) to offer a community-wide consultation service to mothers who are employed, or are considering employment, and are concerned about their homes and children; (2) to help define the type and extent of day-care needs of children in the community and the quality and extent of available resources; and (3) to participate in the development, establishment, and operation of day-care centers that they may become truly extensions of the home during the period of need.

By and large, mothers accept and want to carry out their responsibility for their children. Their ability to do so depends on individual capacity and on circumstances outside themselves. Today's industrial opportunities and the national emergency produce in many families conflict as to the mother's most expedient way to meet her responsibility to herself and to her family. Making a decision to work—or not to work—may not be easy. Her feelings may be mixed between the drive to express and test her abilities and a feeling of inadequacy in competition. There may be conflict between a need to be supported and a desire to earn; between a fear of competing with her husband as breadwinner and a desire to raise the standard of family living; between a fear of losing her role as homemaker and a desire to create a role for herself apart from this; between a fear of losing the love of her children through separation and a desire to provide financially for them or to be released from their hour-by-hour care. These conflicts stem from the individual's life experiences and are by no means

new. The majority of mothers may be able to make sound decisions. Many, however, will wish professional consultation.

One of the important factors to mothers in making their decisions will be the availability and quality of resources for the day care of their children. Independent plans are not as easy to make as they once were. There are fewer unemployed relatives or friends who can take Johnny for the day. Domestic workers are harder to find, and their wage demands are increasing. Then too mothers are identifying themselves with other mothers through community clubs, fraternal or interest groups, labor organizations, parent-teachers associations, etc. From these experiences in group thinking and action, they are more apt to demand care for their children which is organized, supervised, and qualitative, and which provides for their children's development and for their own freedom from tension as they go into jobs.

Those who are concerned with the developing of consultation services must, first of all, make it available at a place and in a way that mothers are free to use it. Often these mothers have never had any contact with family welfare societies, children's aid societies, or departments of social welfare. Eighty percent of the families who in the past have asked for day nursery care of their children have been unknown to social agencies outside health or recreational groups. They are, for the most part, families who have been accustomed to meeting their own problems, who feel that they can continue to do so if they are given partial help in caring for their children.

We need to be aware of this, not as a problem, but as a reality, and understand that the degree of success to which consultation service can be rendered through an existing social agency may depend upon the mother's conception of that agency's service to the community. If it is already accepted as a service agency or if it can, by careful interpretation, identify itself as such, well and good. If its name or function sets it apart, however, as a "charity," its best bet may be to send its consultation staff with quick dispatch to a different building, with a new sign on the door. Beyond procuring this physical change of environment, the agency might

need to rethink its role in this new area and make adaptations in focus and techniques where these are indicated.

In one community where the case work services of the day nursery were to be provided through the family agency, it was agreed that applicants for day care would be seen at the family agency. The location was more central; it was quieter; it was more satisfactory for the case worker. But for the applicant? Not at all. Resistance expressed itself in broken appointments, unduly tense conferences, incompleting applications. The case worker felt that this did not necessarily mean that these families were in no need of service. Rather she felt that they could not reconcile their request for day care with their conception of the family agency's function. She felt that they would be freer if she moved to the nursery for appointments, so she did. Our contribution will be made in terms of the service we give and not necessarily in the perpetuation of our agency identity.

If we have a conviction that our knowledge, experience, and techniques are needed, we will find a way to make them available and usable. In England industry and government have recognized that working men and women bring their personal problems with them to the assembly line. Burdened and frustrated workers can clog production as surely as sabotage; release and help through case work service speed production. Perhaps social workers should move in greater numbers to schools, to health agencies, to industry itself.

When we have moved to the better location, we must let people know we are there. Our interpretation of program and service has often been geared to those who support our agencies—contributors, taxpayers, and board members. Usefulness of the service to the community demands equal effort in informing the persons who need our service. Industrial bulletin boards, employment offices, newspapers, all are good mediums for publicizing and interpreting our service, but must be supplemented by personal contacts.

To be helpful to these mothers demands of social workers no brand-new skills or techniques. We will need to use the same knowledge and insight about human beings that we have gleaned

through our training and experience. Since these mothers' requests will be most often for help in making day-care provisions for their children, however, we will need a knowledge of these resources in the community.

Not all mothers who come to the consultation center will find an answer to their problems in taking jobs and placing their children. Some mothers will feel that separation from their homes and children is not possible, yet they may be burdened by conflict. We will need to assure them that they can serve their country by remaining at home with their children.

Other mothers applying for day care for their children will have problems that can be better met through other community agencies. One young mother was faced with moving to her parents' home or taking employment and placing her year-old daughter during the day. Her husband had disappeared five days before, leaving her no money. He had left her previously but never for more than a day or so, and always before he had let her know where he was. She did not want to notify the police nor let her family know until she made up her mind what to do. She did not want to leave her apartment; her husband might return. Moreover, she feared she might be pregnant. Her concern about her situation seemed centered on its inconvenience and unfairness to her. She expressed little anxiety about the safety of her husband, the reasons for his leaving, or her share of the responsibility. Clearly, this mother was not ready to take a job, or to use day-care facilities for her child. Skilled diagnosis and service were necessary to effect a referral to a family agency for exploration and treatment.

Some mothers may find help in discussing the jobs they have already taken and independent plans they have made for caring for their children. They may reaffirm their satisfaction in these plans with agency approval. However, the consultation service will stand or fall, as an effective service, on its access to community day-care resources where situations clearly indicate this need. It would have been fruitless indeed to have offered only an opportunity for "talking through" to another mother. She was not employed. Her husband worked nights in a war plant. It was the

best job he had had in years. In 1937 he had contracted tuberculosis and had been in a sanitarium. He had been unable to get regular work independently and had been employed by the Work Projects Administration off and on for three years. It was essential, because of his health history, that he get undisturbed rest during the day. John, age six, was in school, and the baby, age twelve months, was easy to keep quiet and happy, but Margie, age three, just could not seem to help playing noisily. The mother realized that this was normal, but their apartment was small and there was no yard. She felt it might be bad constantly to remind Margie to be quiet. Her husband did not want her to "fuss" at the little girl either, but he was a light sleeper and found it difficult to rest once awakened. He had asked for work on the day shift but had no promise of a change. This family knew of no one who might care for Margie during the day. The mother thought Margie might feel that she was being pushed out of the home in that type of plan, whereas the little girl seemed quite pleased with the idea of going to "school." The mother felt they could pay a modest fee for day care.

Here we see a family moving toward economic independence, solid in their personal-family relationships, thoughtfully asking for day-care service. In more normal times day nurseries have found that approximately three quarters of the families applying for service have sound plans to use the day care whereas one quarter have problems that day care cannot meet.

What is happening to the children of working mothers is a matter for community-wide concern. Exploration of the type and extent of need for day care should be the coöperative venture of every group concerned. In many communities committees on day-care needs of children have been set up as a part of the local defense council. It is important that these committees have broad community representation and include leaders from industry, labor, government, social welfare, education, health, recreation, parent groups, etc. The broader the interests of each group represented, the more opportunity each has to understand and value the contribution of the other and become aware of its own responsibility in relation to the problem and the united effort to

meet it. Leadership may be taken by different groups in different localities. In one community the mothers themselves assumed the leadership. Sitting in the park on Sundays, chatting as they minded their children, they found they had many common problems. They were dissatisfied with the haphazard plans they had to make for their children's care, and they organized themselves into a club to see what could be done. They invited a child psychologist to talk with them one evening and enjoyed it so much that he was persuaded to give them a series of lectures on child development. They felt more uncomfortable every week, in view of their new-found knowledge, and finally pressed for a community survey of need and the establishment of a child-care center. Needs of children are not the responsibility or concern of any one group; they are the responsibility and concern of the whole community. Resources to meet them should not be developed by, or restricted to, any one segment of the community. The experience and skills of social workers will be needed particularly in exploring the extent and quality of existing community day-care resources, in interpreting the values of home life to children, and in acquiring and sharing knowledge as to the best programs with which to supplement the home when partial separation is necessary.

The possibilities for social workers in such coöperative community study and planning seem limitless. There is considerable evidence that barriers to understanding within and between professional groups as well as between them and other interest groups are less impregnable than ever. There is a reaching out for understanding, sharing of experience and viewpoints, between all factors and forces in the community. The opportunity for service through interpretation and practice is wider today than ever before. The challenge is there.

What is our responsibility in the development, establishment, and operation of day-care centers? Before we can effectively assume our role we must find a point of view about the service and evolve a philosophy as to what function we think it should fulfill. Is it fundamentally a service to children, a program with their development and growth as its core; or is it primarily a service to families, one of providing partial care for their children? Is it to

supplement the children's home or to substitute for it? Is it conceived as an educational experience that should be available to all children for as long as they can use it, or is it a service to those families who cannot provide wholly for their children—for the period, however long or short, that this family need exists and can be met through day care?

If it is conceived as a program whose cornerstone is family service, every phase of its activity should be developed to the end that this is a reality. One method of assuring this will be provision of continuous case work service; another, an adequate health program; a third, a sound child development program. To the degree that each of these three programs is strong in itself and is coordinated with the others into a workable whole, the family unit will be served.

What is the area of case work service in this day-care center? Is it family case work, or is it more akin to practice as we know it in child welfare or child placement? Should it focus on the basic family problems or be limited to that area sensitized through the need for, and reality of, partial placement?

One family had recently moved to an industrial center where the mother had work as a machine operator in a defense plant. Both parents were highly intellectual, artists by profession. The father had been through a series of failures in the advertising business and was out of work, and opportunities in his own field were few. He initiated many plans to get work outside. He was once employed as a salesman, but was unable to make a success of it. He had deep feelings of inadequacy and guilt that expressed themselves in stern discipline of the children, which focused particularly on the older boy, whose personality he identified with his own; in resentment at being the housekeeper, yet making a fetish of it; in great pride in his wife's achievement, yet accusing her of assuming his role. Psychiatric treatment had been recommended by a local hospital, but he was unable to carry it through.

The mother seemed aware of her husband's emotional instability and inadequacy as a provider, but maintained an expressed belief in him. That she did not wholly accept the deprivations was obvious in the fact that she secured retraining and got a job.

She showed tenseness and distress at her husband's outbursts at the children, and his inconsistent handling of them, but never interfered. Her responses to her husband were always warm and markedly deferential.

Their children, boys of three and eight, were extraordinarily bright. The younger was adaptable and easygoing, while the older was quite immature in his social development. He found it difficult to establish himself with his peers. He was of an age and lived in a community where the use of fists was a daily challenge, and he found conflict between this demand and his home training. He met this by seeking his brother, whom he could dominate, as a playmate, or by demanding adult attention, or by disturbing the activity of younger children, even kicking or pinching them in times of stress. Both parents understood that the pressures of their problems rested heavily on their children. Their request for day care was as clearly in terms of the opportunities it offered in program for the children as in its expediency in meeting the family problem.

The case worker indicated throughout an awareness of the seriousness of the problems presented. She felt that the mother's burden was so heavy that to precipitate her deeper scrutiny of the situation might be intolerable to her at this time. However, she felt that in spite of these tensions and difficulties, there still were certain strengths and assets within this family that could be conserved and built on, and that this could be done by providing the very thing that the parents requested—day care for their children. The case worker restricted her service to this area, and the wisdom of this definition of area has been demonstrated, not only in the mother's relief from worry about her children, but also in both parents' increased ability to grow in understanding and effective handling of their children through their relationship with the case worker.

It would seem that the area of case work service in day-care programs would be determined by the purpose for which the program is established, the quality of personnel available for the program itself, and the resources in the community already available for family service. We recognize that the amount and quality

of day-care service will vary in different communities and will depend on the need for it, the community understanding of that need, and its ability to meet it. It will depend as truly on availability of qualified personnel as on availability of funds.

Historically, the day nursery has been an expression of private philanthropy. Relationship of the program to the total community planning has often been confused or ineffectual. That a change in structure is imminent is demonstrated by the fact that public responsibility has now been set through the passage of the Community Facilities Act, providing for Federal funds for the development of day-care centers in defense areas. This financial subsidy can only make possible increased services; the quality of service depends upon local administration. One of the pressing problems is that of procuring staff members. This can be resolved partly through loans of personnel by existing private and public social agencies and schools, partly by the coördination of services, partly by the training of volunteers. Demonstration units may be set up and become an important contribution.

Social workers have a responsibility to be concerned about the total development and structure of day-care programs to the end that they may be an effective, constructive service, and that, after the present emergency, when the need for separation of mother and child diminishes, normal family patterns may be resumed.

THE SCHOOL PROGRAM IN CASE WORK WITH EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

By *CARMELITE JANVIER*

WE MAY INCLUDE in the definition of the exceptional child not only the child with any deviations which require special provision in a school program, but also the child for whom not only the school, but society itself must make special provision. The term "exceptional" when applied to children does not mean necessarily that there is "something wrong" with the child, but rather "something different," and different in great enough degree to require society or the school or both to provide special services for him.

What I have to say deals primarily with the relationships between schools and social agencies in working with children and the importance for the child that the two organizations establish sound coöperative relationships based on a mutual understanding of function and a division of labor acceptable to both. Both organizations believe, since both have a stake in the total development of the whole child, that whatever provisions are made by either to care for his variance from the normal should not by their very nature create more, and more devastating, differences.

Those who have studied first aid have discovered that while the first aider is trying to apply one of those complicated splints to a simple fracture, he may easily intensify the patient's original state of shock which had not been taken into account. So both social worker and educator in attempting to set up machinery for helping the exceptional child to progress normally through life

must constantly watch and check that machinery to see what it is doing to the child as a total developing personality.

Many circumstances during the past fifty years have helped public education to become aware of, and accept responsibility for, the exceptional child. Compulsory school attendance laws, which made it impossible for those who did not fit into the school structure to drop out quietly, have become more and more effective in keeping children in school whether they fit or not. Machinery for measuring intelligence, as it has become more and more refined, has constantly added to the realization by educators that all children of six can no more wear the standard six-year-old educational garment than all children of six can fit into the manufacturer's six-year-old model in clothes. Increasing knowledge in the field of public health has brought an unavoidable awareness of the existence of many physical disabilities and their effect on the child's capacity for education and his endurance of educational methods. From the field of mental hygiene has come an appreciation of the development of personality and the importance of attitudes and relationships, and the responsibility of the school for furnishing an environment which is healthy, not only for mental and physical growth, but for emotional and social growth as well. And finally, from the field of social work itself, has come a realization of the forces outside the school which nevertheless determine, or help to determine, the child's chances for progressing happily and successfully through the school program.

In the face of all this realization of the school's responsibility for what has come to be known as "the whole child," individual school systems, at widely varying rates of speed, and certainly with wide variance in judgment, have attempted to introduce devices for caring for gross deviations as they become apparent. In some cases they have certainly succeeded in burning down the house in order to roast the pig! In other cases, they have been impressed by only one sort of deviation, one which was particularly disturbing to the classroom teacher, such as mental deficiency, or one which was dramatic and could be counted on to receive public endorsement, such as physical crippling, and overlooked all other sorts of

differences which might need special programs. In some instances, school systems, in a genuine but misguided effort to meet the needs of the exceptional child, have gone into areas which are not really within their function and have created difficulties both for the child and for themselves.

In any case, what the local school system is doing about the exceptional child is important in determining what sort of case work the social agency can offer to the exceptional child; and both services, educational and social, can benefit vastly by coöperative effort and an understanding that together they are two approaches in a common effort to help the child to have a normal happy and effective life. If the schools and the social agencies in a community are to work effectively together in the adjustment of the exceptional child, it is important for them to arrive at some common decision as to their real functions and their areas of competence. Since the very term "exceptional child" implies selection of certain groups or individuals for special service, two of the basic criteria for determining the function of either organization, school or agency, must be whether or not that organization has the necessary machinery for determining the need of the service, and the trained personnel for administering it if it is set up.

From the very beginning of this nation, public education was seen as an absolute necessity. But the term "education" has grown vastly in meaning between the closing years of the eighteenth century and the middle of the twentieth. Education means to us today, not only preparation for living as an adult in a complex world which requires a vast number of skills, an ever widening fund of knowledge, and the ability to analyze material, draw conclusions, make decisions, and take action, but also, and most important, a preparation that itself shall give satisfactions in the doing and thereby help in the continuous growth of the personality.

As this change in concept has taken place, public education has assumed more and more responsibility for providing the tools with which the job is to be done. Compulsory attendance laws have been added, health services, free textbooks, vocational guidance, transportation for those at a distance, visiting teacher service,

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special classes for the exceptional child, extracurricular activities to educate in social growth through recreation, and now free lunches.

How far shall the schools go? Which of these activities are legitimately the function of education and which belong to social agencies? In order to make that decision the schools should apply these two criteria: (1) For any of these services which are offered on a selective basis, have the schools the machinery for making the selection? (2) If the service is set up, have the schools trained personnel for administering it?

Free textbooks? Certainly, if given to all children, since they are obviously a part of the schoolroom machinery. Physical examinations and sanitary inspections? Certainly, since otherwise schools would become breeding places for contagion, and the chance for finding physical defects in their early stages and helping parents to plan for their correction would be lost. Visiting teacher service? Certainly again, since the visiting teacher is a trained social worker and can therefore help the other school personnel in the selection of those exceptional children who can benefit from the service. Special classes? Again, yes, since the schools have the machinery, can give the physical examinations and mental tests, for selecting those children who need them and can benefit from them.

But what about free lunches? That depends entirely on the reason for, and the method of administering, such a program. With free lunches for all children as a part of the curriculum in order to teach nutrition, I have no quarrel provided a school system can afford to administer it effectively. But free lunches on a selective basis is another thing. If the selection is of those children in need of a high-caloric diet and the school has nurses and dietitians to make the selection and visiting teachers to work with the homes of the selected group, such lunches might well be a legitimate educational function. But if selection is on the basis of financial need, do the schools have machinery for determining this? Is it within the function of a school system to determine it? Is it within the school function to provide such a basic necessity as food? If it is, then what about clothing and housing? As our

concept of public education broadens, we can look forward to a broadening of the function of the schools just as the broadening concept of child welfare has made the children's agency of today a very different thing from the agency of fifty years ago, but unless some such criteria are set up for determining the legitimate functions of the school and the agency, we can foresee much confusion resulting in competitive rather than coöperative relationships between the two sorts of organizations in working with the exceptional child. Every time a community need indicates the necessity for establishing a service, joint thinking should determine where the service should be placed. The mere fact that one or the other organization feels the lack first does not in itself indicate that that organization is the one most capable of administering it. When the schools find that they cannot teach hungry children, they should raise their voices for better relief grants from the welfare agencies and not try to go into the relief business themselves; just as the child welfare agency which feels the need for more flexible educational programs should point out the need to boards of education and not try to set up its own schools. When each organization in the community whose function touches the exceptional child has accepted the principle of division of labor, they can be of inestimable benefit to each other, and to the children for whom they are working, if they will consult together and each draw on the competence of the other.

The thinking of the two fields of education and social work has been brought together to produce a constructive program for the whole child in the sight-saving classes for children with visual difficulties that have been set up under the guidance of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. The teachers saw that those children needed individual attention and special devices—books with large print, typewriters, special lighting—which they could not get in the regular classes. The social workers saw that those children had a tendency toward isolation because of their physical handicaps and needed, even more than the usual child, a chance for social contacts and a feeling of being a part of the normal group. Together they worked out a plan by means of

which the child can get the assistance he needs and yet not lose contact with the larger group in the regular class.

Joint thinking may, of course, result in conflict when the young social worker suggests to the veteran teacher that she make a monitor out of the boy who has defied every school rule and is known to his companions as the leader of the antischool gang, or when a teacher insists that a child be removed bodily from his home this very day because his parents cannot see the necessity of getting him to school on time. On the other hand, it can result in each of them getting some new light on the common problem which had been hidden because each one was too close to her own angle to see the other side.

When public schools and social agencies can see themselves, each within its own function, working as partners for the exceptional children who belong to neither of them but for whom both are trying to open avenues into the fullness of life, and when teachers and social workers can try to glean ideas from each other in their common effort to make the exceptional child the normal child, then they can all go a step further and attack some of the problems which belong in that no man's land about which both sides are defensive. For example, who is responsible for poor attendance, and whose fault is pediculosis? If teachers and social workers and attendance officers and school nurses and juvenile court judges and housing authorities and recreational directors and health teachers and visiting teachers and athletic coaches could get together on questions like that and decide in each individual case whose technique might be most effective in the given situation without projecting a sense of guilt onto the others, many difficulties of children would be eliminated and schools would be happier places for all concerned.

How far can and should the case worker go in presenting case material to the teacher, who is not a case worker and cannot be expected to view that material in the same light, but will use it in her own way? My feeling is that the case worker should restrict her discussion to those things which will be helpful to the teacher in her work with the child at school and her ability to guide his educational plans; what sort of courses he should take, what sort

of occupational adjustment he can look forward to, just as the teacher should restrict her discussion of classroom and playground observations to those things which will help the case worker in her work with the child outside of school. If there is a visiting teacher, either working directly with the teacher or working with teacher and social worker together, the relationships will be much easier, for she will be able to cull the material from both fields which is pertinent without threatening either by drawing in too much material which can only make one or the other of them feel insecure or anxious. As public school and social agency become more and more aware of each other's objectives and problems, this joint fitting together of their services to the exceptional child will become more and more effective.

As the actual operation of each service must come, in the last analysis, through the individual teacher and principal on the one side, and the individual case worker and supervisor on the other, the implication is clear that both the teacher-training college and the school of social work would do well to inject into their training process as much understanding of the other field as possible and attempt to break down the emotional barriers between the two fields. In other words, when the teacher can see the social worker, not as just another visitor to disturb the orderly routine of her day and put more demands upon her already harassed soul, and the social worker can see the teacher, not as just one more contact that she has to check off in order to make her case record look complete, but when each sees the other as an aid in understanding the exceptional child and working effectively with him, the individual exceptional child will cease to be a point of contention and will provide a chance for each to refine her own technique in dealing with the problem.

The trend in public education is definitely toward individualizing the child and modifying educational machinery to meet his particular needs. In order to do this successfully, administrators and teachers need the understanding of individual differences which can come to them from the field of social service. Both fields must become sensitive to what the other can and cannot do so that they will not become defensive and project their failures

onto the other. Just as the teacher must realize that the social worker cannot take a child bodily from his home on the very day that the teacher decides that he should no longer be there, so the social worker must learn that the school cannot teach the unteachable.

On the other hand, each field, recognizing the function of the other and not making impossible demands of it, should be able to help the other to see direction in the modification of programs. We have mentioned free school lunches. Would it not have been better for the schools, instead of trying to feed children on a selective basis, to have said to the social agencies: "Now here is a problem which is acute. Children are coming to school hungry, but we have no means of determining which children out of the many should be selected for feeding. We do not have the technique of feeding selected children without the grave danger of stigmatizing a group as different. Most important, there is the danger of influencing our own attitudes to that group and feeling resentful if they do not show gratitude by good behavior or good attendance. Therefore, we point out this serious problem, since it is in your area, and ask you to do something about it."

Is it not better for the social agency, recognizing the need of special education and services for some children, to say to the school: "This child does not fit into the scheme of things. He may have rheumatic heart disease, he may have spastic paralysis, he may have a broken bone, or skin disease, or feeble-mindedness or a cantankerous disposition, but in any case he needs whatever education he can take and that is your business. What plans can you work out for him?"

So each organization, seeing the needs of the exceptional child from its own angle, and recognizing how its function differs, can help the other one to see direction in developing its services. Moreover, they can press together to make the public see the need and provide for it. Truly, to paraphrase Benjamin Franklin, they must hang together or assuredly the exceptional child will hang separately. That, should it happen, would be a triple tragedy, for it would mean a loss, not only to the individual exceptional child

who bears the brunt of the conflict, but also to the school and to the children's agency.

It is through the exception that science has advanced, and this is nowhere more true than in the science of human personality and in the science of education. It is the exceptional child who has taught the schools where they were making mistakes in the education of the so-called normal child, and it is the exceptional child who has indicated direction in developing programs in the schools for all children. Through an appreciation of the needs of the child with impaired vision, the schools have learned the need of all children for better light and better print, and through the need of the retarded child for a varied, individualized program, the schools have learned the need of all children for variety and a place in the sun.

The exceptional child is potentially of tremendous value both to the school and the social agency. If together they will focus their skills and learn to refine their techniques through understanding his needs, he will repay them both, not only in himself, and not only by becoming a thoroughly nice, commonplace, uninteresting "normal" child, but by showing the way for them both to do a better job for all children.

THE EFFECTS ON CASE WORK SERVICES OF SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE NEGRO'S LIFE

I: FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS

By *LEORA L. CONNER*

THROUGHOUT the length and breadth of these United States 13,000,000 persons watch the progress of our war participation with more than usual interest. For this 10 percent of our population, our largest minority racial group, the Negro, there is more at stake than even winning the war "to preserve our democratic way of life." To them, more than to anyone else, the way in which we win it, the sacrifices we make, the ground we yield, indicate what really matters to us, what beliefs and convictions we have and hold. Our Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the various legal guaranties we have set up represent the high regard we have for the rights of the individual. We wish to assure him that here he is free, in so far as his interests do not conflict with those of society, to develop his capacity to the end that he can have for himself a satisfying and useful life. To equalize some of the inequalities of our social order, we have passed social legislation to give further personal security to our members, thus strengthening our democracy. In our case work we realize that intellectual acceptance is not enough; so too we must live democracy while our armed forces fight for it, otherwise our defeat will be more complete than surrender on the battle-front. It is only too true, as Paul Bourget has said, "You must

live as you think. If not, sooner or later you will end by thinking as you have lived."

In time of a major crisis the familiar routines are disrupted, we seem to face reality with greater courage and clarity, blind spots diminish, and social progress is accelerated, having penetrated traditional barriers. In a world at war to determine which way of life is to prevail, the democratic concept is challenged with every Axis triumph. The areas where the democratic way of life has failed to reach fruition have been spotlighted. By studying our failures, this trial may be the means of resolving some of the conflicts that have been over two hundred years in the making.

As the various racial groups have actively entered the Second World War, we have become color conscious, some of us anxious, others aggressive, but all of us concerned and questioning. There is no need to discuss the historical background that has shaped our society, but possibly a study of the segment touched by the case worker will help to point the way. We can probably all agree with Miss Hollis's concept of the case work area:

Individuals are born with certain needs. They live in a world which holds promise of meeting many of these needs but which denies others and makes demands of its own in the interest of many interdependent people. The individual must learn how to fit into this world in such a way that he will secure a maximum of personal satisfaction, at the same time fulfilling his responsibilities as a member of society. People come to social agencies when there has been a breakdown in their ability to do this. This breakdown may result either from unusual hardship in the outside world or from weakened capacity of the individual to deal with the world—or from a combination of the two. The aim of family casework is to lessen the external hardship, at the same time building up the individual's capacity to deal with it. The external pressures it alleviates, sometimes by direct intervention, sometimes by strengthening and accelerating the client's own efforts to bring improvement. The inner capacity it reinforces by lessening the drag of repressed feelings and anxiety, and by sharpening the edge of the individual's ability to see reality as it is.¹

The socio-political factors in the Negro's life are, roughly: (1) legal guarantees of privilege as a citizen; (2) management of pub-

¹ Florence Hollis, *Social Case Work in Practice* (New York: Family Welfare Society of America, 1939), p. 307.

lic affairs in the interest of a well-ordered society; (3) legal sanctions defining conditions under which Negroes may reach their goals; and (4) Federal efforts through Social Security legislation to even up the inequalities of our social order.

A study of case work services to Negroes as shown in the records of public and private family agencies in one Southern community indicates some of the factors which seriously interfere with the Negro's opportunity to use case work service as a growing experience. These may be grouped under housing, employment with reference to training opportunities, work conditions and employer-employee relationships, attitudes toward authority and conflicts with the law, and stability of the family relationship. Some attempt will also be made to discuss the limitations of the case work method in handling attitudes developing as a result of segregation and limited mobility.

Through the stimulation and interest of the Federal Government, our greatest strides and most comforting results have developed in the areas of housing and health facilities. Basic to healthy, sound family life is a house that is a home. But the old story of overcrowding in dilapidated two- and three-room houses or apartments on unimproved streets, with inadequate provision of public utilities, continues. The Negro has an additional problem in the zoning restrictions upheld either by legal sanction or by public opinion that can be explained only on the basis of color. In Chicago, for instance, as the Negro population increases and expands its housing, the white population abandons the area, leaving houses, as in rooming-house districts, frequently unsuited to the present use. Public housing has shown the way out. As the North wrestled with the problem of whether to permit white and colored to occupy the same building, the South questioned the feasibility of multiple housing. The remarkable success of the first housing project in Memphis, Tennessee, changed the community concept, and now officials point with pride to the administration of the project, the care of the apartments, the stability of the tenants, and the splendid community spirit. Through the coöperative credit union established, the project has served as a springboard to private ownerships. Three of the five projects serve

the colored. The case worker knows the high cost of poor housing in its toll of poor health and delinquency, and is now able to use the public housing as the first step by which the family may raise their standard of living. The setting is important for the development of constructive attitudes. It is within the wall enclosing the family that the attitudes are shaped of the citizens who tomorrow will take up the cudgels for community planning.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the public development of health facilities except to comment that in this field it was recognized that with white and colored working side by side no program would be effective that did not offer the same public health opportunities for all. For a few years this will mean a disproportionate investment in behalf of the colored until resources are equalized.

In considering the Negro as a wage earner, the case worker finds serious difficulty. The client stands before the employer, not as another individual wishing to market his skills and having the need for a job, but as a Negro. As such, he is relegated to a subordinate position in jobs that are traditionally his. The restricted opportunities in the skilled trades limit him to odd jobs and unskilled labor having no security of income. This has been highlighted with the demand for increased production in our defense industries. It is only in the spring of 1942 that technical schools for Negroes have put in courses that fit a man for work in the skilled jobs of the defense plants. Recently the father of a family of three children deserted when his wife brought pressure through the court for more adequate support, and the situation was referred to the family agency. While trying to locate him, the case worker was able to help the wife gain some insight into his reasons for leaving and her part in it, and assume some responsibility for her condition and their plans for the future. When the husband returned, he came into an environment more likely to serve a constructive purpose. He responded by making every effort to secure work and enrolled for defense school training while waiting for a job. The case worker learned that the training he had started so eagerly would not lead to work in a defense plant or, in fact, anywhere in the community. As the man was about to quit, the school was successful in changing its type of defense

training to that for usable trades. If there had been no change, the case worker would have had to cope with an individual whose newly aroused ambition and enthusiasm would either die or end in frustration. He would resign himself to the futility of trying to gain a place for himself and not make even the effort of which he was capable, and the nation, in need of man power, would have one less well-integrated citizen.

Because of the necessity for the Negro head of a family to accept jobs calling for unskilled labor, the wife usually goes to work in domestic service. Here the case worker meets the problem of legal sanctions defining conditions under which Negroes may live and work. It is commonly called the color-caste problem. This is not a problem solely of the South, as it has so often been assumed. The caste line is drawn in the North quite as effectively, if not as formally, as in the South where it is upheld by legal sanctions and the codes of the various states. In major crises, such as the depression and the war, changes occur and lines tend not to be so rigidly drawn.

Because of the caste situation Negro domestics do not complain of the long hours and small pay. However, they express their resentment by arriving late, failing to show up on the job, working without organization of their time, leaving without notice, and in other ways. It is a vicious circle, for this behavior justifies the employer's small wage. The case worker has tried to break the circle by offering to secure training for the domestic in order that she may be a more efficient worker. Occasionally the employer is interested and will cooperate by offering the inducement of increased wages, but it is usually difficult to arouse the client to see any advantage in such training since she seldom finds favorable working conditions. One Negro domestic left her own children unsupervised to work long hours into the night, afraid to quit for fear she could not get a reference. Even when her child became critically ill, she was afraid not to return to work. Her hostility, which she projected on her employer, was so strong that she feared punishment. The case worker was finally able to help her make a better plan for her family.

The nursemaid fares much better. She is entrusted with her

employer's most precious possession and, regardless of any resentment that might be engendered, she never betrays that trust. There is a close personal tie between her and her small charge, a bond that continues through life. Both benefit from this relationship in which color is nonexistent as a factor, and this relationship is frequently the motivating power for improving conditions of the race generally.

The case worker finds in employer-employee relationships, if the employer is white, that the Negro employee does not resort to the legal machinery set up in the community to protect his rights in the event of an infringement of those rights. He tries to handle it himself. An instance of this was noted in a family referred by the juvenile court. The wife claimed that although her husband worked full time, seven days a week, he brought home only a few dollars a week and she was sure he was spending it on another woman. A study of the situation revealed that the employer had been taking advantage of the man's desire for the security of a steady job by having him work extra hours without compensation, and had been lending him money at an illegal rate. Because of indifferent keeping of the accounts, the debt was constantly mounting even though regular payments were being made to reduce it. The case worker helped to work out a budget that would enable a regular reduction of the debt, the amount of the indebtedness being verified through the employer. Although it seemed advisable for this man to change his employment, since he was jeopardizing not only his health but that of his family, he refused to do so as long as he was indebted to his employer. The case worker, respecting this sense of responsibility, yet realizing the meaning to his family of continued employment under these conditions, finally helped him work out a satisfactory settlement and enabled him to secure better employment. The Labor Relations Board will make an effort to correct the conditions prevailing in the man's former place of employment. Although he could have had access to the courts in helping solve his problem, he was afraid to risk the color equation. The formal machinery of the law has cared for the grievances of the Negro less adequately, as a rule, than for those of the white group. This

has placed a premium on the Negro's ability to defend himself or take the law into his own hands. This lack of confidence in the fairness of the country's legal machinery is a factor in all the Negro's relationships with his fellow man.

Negroes frequently enter into common-law relationships, although they are not recognized in many states, and in some there is a concerted drive to enforce a legal union. The case worker has found that such a relationship was not as casually regarded as might have been indicated. The wife was usually greatly relieved to have support in her efforts to legalize the relationship, living as she had in the fear that her fellow church members might discover the truth. Even though the father had taken no steps to legalize the union prior to enforcement, in some instances, and to a frank discussion with the case worker, in others, a change was noted in his attitude toward his family. In one instance, the marriage relieved the father's feeling of guilt for a relationship foreign to his own rearing and he was able to accept his responsibility for the training and rearing of the children.

From the moment the Negro child starts to school, he tests the reality of the legal guaranties set up by society and the authorities who manage the public institutions of the community. He plays truant, and little if anything is done. The Negro teachers, themselves the victims of discrimination, especially as to salaries, do not have interest in correcting the attitudes growing in the child. Repeated instances of infractions of the law and infringement of the rights of others pass without notice until an antisocial pattern is established. By the time recognition is taken of it, case work has little to offer. Succeeding generations grow up with little respect for authority and learn early to take matters into their own hands.

The case records indicate that no compromise has been made in extending social services to the colored. Individual need has been the basis for the relief plan. That the maximum social security grants are given to the Negro is an indication of the beginning of public acceptance of the Negro's value to society as an individual. Case work service is offered by white and colored workers of comparable professional equipment. These instances

have been concerned with external pressures. In order that case workers may be helpful, it is necessary for them to understand not merely the basic behavior patterns, but the special pressures encountered by the Negro as a member of a minority group against whom discriminatory action has public sanction.

This is further complicated when we note that the group which is nationally in the minority sometimes becomes, locally, a majority group which is accepting its minority role as far as privilege is concerned. The organization in the group is confusing to their own members as well as to those outside. The dominant groups' haphazard selection of Negro leaders, so-called, for civic responsibilities increases the feeling of futility within the group, since it is a further indication that they are being viewed as a group rather than as citizens with a contribution to make to the general welfare of the community. In the large concentration of Negroes in some of our Southern cities, there is opportunity within their own social group for development of the qualities of leadership and for satisfying relationships. The case worker has recognized that there are distinct classes in this society—upper, middle, and lower—each with varying degrees of responsibility for the welfare and progress of the race and the criteria of behavior.

In helping rehabilitate a girl who had dropped from the upper to the lower class following her marriage, the case worker found that the girl's father, a prominent professional man, made few contacts outside his racial group and would not even accompany his daughter to the hospital for fear that his hostility and strong feeling about segregation would cause him to do something that would jeopardize her chances for treatment. He preferred to stay within the boundaries of his racial group, however limited, rather than risk losing his self-respect by adopting an accommodation role. With reality so painful to face, the Negro has adapted himself to an environment that was slow to change, by adopting the role that would secure him maximum happiness.

While we recognize in white clients under tension symptomatic behavior, frequently in working with Negroes we accept the accommodation role as evidencing the true attitude. Because of the social distance between the classes, sometimes the Negro case

worker finds herself inclined to diagnose a situation, weighing the possibility of successful treatment just by viewing the neighborhood rather than by seeing the client as an individual with needs of her own that have been met in a manner contrary to the worker's standards and criteria. In a minority group striving for privilege, irresponsible behavior is more deeply censured than in others. That is one of the blind spots to which we must be alert.

Since the environment of the Negro client is so restricted by his resources, one must recognize the limitations of the case work method in modifying it. We can, by recognizing the forces at work, be of genuine service in salvaging many who are losing hope. There is every inducement to dependency, to avoid growing up. The Negro can blame his failures on the social order, not willing to face the reality that every individual, to a lesser or greater degree, must adjust to the limitations of his environment. His chance of reward may be less, as well as his hope of attaining his goal, but the effort will make him more capable of meeting his life problems.

When the situation is such that the Negro emerges as an individual, the fact of his color loses its weight. A colored leader in a mixed group meeting together for the first time to discuss their common goal said, "I have been associated with members of this board in many civic enterprises, members of my family have been associated closely with some of you for generations, but you don't know me. I want you to know me, what I think, what I feel." And that, I believe, is the only way we can dissipate the emotional blocking that paralyzes our progress. Through a meeting of the minds and a unity of purpose, the color barrier can be more easily bridged than when we are focusing on the controversial social aspects.

The road to sound building is long and slow, but traditional methods and concepts cannot be changed in a day. The South has a genuine interest in the Negro through long, close, personal relationships, and has been busy equalizing the opportunities for him through developing additional educational, health, and social welfare facilities. The South, with its 10,000,000 Negroes in a

largely rural area, has a different need from the North with its 3,000,000, largely in urban centers. But just as the private agency's knowledge of how a few families are managing on public grants can help develop the public program better to serve the many, so the knowledge of how a few have attained the goal of developing their capacity for a satisfying and useful life can be applied to the mass. We have noted gains here and there in seeing the Negro as a person. If, in face of the emotional appeals of a war period we can discipline ourselves to the long view, we may find ourselves in the happy position of the child who astonished his father by quickly putting together a map of the world that had been torn into small pieces. In explanation he said, "Well, you see, on the other side was the picture of a man. I put the man together, and the world took care of itself."

II: FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ECONOMIC FACTORS

By FAITH JEFFERSON JONES

IT MAY NOT BE generally recognized that economic factors are responsible for many of the problems with which the case worker is confronted. In every racial, national, and religious group there are those who possess no income, or an income so inadequate that assistance from a social agency is necessary. Because of discrimination, the Negro in general suffers to a greater extent economically in this country than do other minority groups. This is due, in part, to the early history of the Negro in this country. In addition, however, it is greatly contributed to because of the ease with which he can ordinarily be identified. The Negro consequently faces a twofold problem, that of being a member of a low-income group and of a racial minority which can be easily identified, and against which there is much prejudice.

Although superficial differences exist, there is very little real difference between the North and South, so far as the economic treatment of the Negro is concerned. In both sections the Negro is in the low-income bracket. In the North, employment of the group is primarily in manual labor, and although the Negro is paid at prevailing wage rates, his income is small because of the type of work done. In the South it is not uncommon to find Negroes in urban communities doing skilled or semiskilled work, but they are paid at a lower rate than white workers who perform the same task.

The United States Census of 1930 showed that at that time approximately 25 percent of all Negro workers in the United States were servants, and 20 percent more were farm laborers. The semiskilled and unskilled Negro workers, including servants and all types of laborers, constituted 67 percent of the Negroes gainfully employed. In contrast, only 29 percent of the foreign-born and 22 percent of the native white group fell in those classifications. It is safe to predict that the complete occupational data for the 1940 census will show no fundamental change in this picture.

The social worker is in a better position than most people to see the undermining effects of economic factors on the Negro. For example, the case worker in a relief-giving agency is aware that an unemployed Negro with the same ability, training, or skill as an unemployed white worker will remain on the relief rolls longer than the white worker. This is true, not because of any innate difference in his capacity or desire to work, but because of the general reluctance of many employers to accept a Negro when other workers are available. We need no further proof of this than the fact that the President of the United States found it necessary to issue an Executive order (No. 8802) in June, 1941, and later to create the Committee on Fair Employment Practice in an effort to assure the use of all members of the labor pool during the national emergency with which we are now confronted.

Discriminatory attitudes of employers and labor unions have contributed to the disproportionate number of Negroes receiving

assistance from public and private agencies. A survey conducted by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1939 showed that the Negro constituted approximately 42 percent of the relief load in Chicago, but only 7 percent of the total population. This meant that one third of the Negro population in Chicago was dependent upon relief at that time. A release of the Social Security Board shows that in the year 1939-40 the percentage of Negroes receiving assistance through the three categories was also greatly in excess of the percentage of Negroes in the total population. There is a vast amount of material which substantiates the statement that in any consideration of the Negro population, one must recognize that it is a low-income group and one severely affected by unemployment and related social problems.

We assume that social workers accept the following statement given in the *Social Work Year Book* for 1941 as the twofold purpose of social case work:

1. Improving the environment in which an individual lives.
2. Increasing the individual's capacity to meet the demands of the environment in which he finds himself.

Keeping that in mind, we know that social problems are not only intensified, but often created by low income or the lack of income. A family's social well-being is jeopardized if there is not sufficient income to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and a reasonable amount of wholesome recreation.

In improving the environment in which an individual lives, the most obvious point to consider is housing. It is true that the prevalence of bad housing for Negroes is due, in part, to the influence of social factors. In Chicago, for example, overcrowding is one of the greatest contributing factors to bad housing. Overcrowding, in turn, is in part due to restrictive covenants which have kept the Negro within a limited geographic area in spite of the need for expansion, due to an increase in the Negro population. However, the economic factor is also involved, inasmuch as landlords have asked unreasonably high rentals for inferior accommodations, and in return have made few, if any, of the needed repairs. The kitchenette apartment is a common type of

housing in the section of the city which accommodates the majority of the Negroes. These apartments are, however, no more than one room with a clothes closet which has been converted into a kitchenette. In such quarters an entire family will live. It is not uncommon for as many as thirty-five individuals to use the same toilet facilities. Landlords of such dwellings do not hesitate to lock the family out at the end of the week, if the rent for the incoming week is not immediately forthcoming. From twenty-five to thirty dollars a month is a common rental for such quarters. The same or a lesser amount of rent will make an acceptable four- or five-room unit available to a low-income white family in many parts of Chicago.

The buildings in which the kitchenette apartments are found were constructed many years ago and were originally either apartment buildings or palatial homes, where one family occupied an entire apartment or house. One will now find a family in each room of what was originally a one-family dwelling. The increased wear and tear on these buildings, because of the large number of persons now occupying them, has resulted in an acceleration in the normal need for repairs. In spite of this, the landlord who makes repairs is the exception. Most of them have gone into the renting of kitchenette apartments for the purpose of receiving large incomes on a small investment. They ignore the need for repairs since such expenditures would make their investment less profitable. The result is rapid deterioration of property with the subsequent ill effects on the occupants.

It is true that this is not a typical housing problem in the country at large. However, it is difficult to discuss the problem of housing, because of its wide variations in different sections of the country and in different types of communities. Nevertheless, it is in general true that as incomes increase, families are able to purchase more adequate housing. In view of this, the economic status of the Negro increases his handicap in purchasing acceptable housing.

The National Health Survey, made under the direction of the United States Public Health Service in 1935-36, shows that in all sections of the country, "colored" persons suffer more than other

groups from overcrowding. It is true that this survey includes all "non-white" persons in its classification of "colored." Nevertheless, with the exception of the West coast, Negroes predominated in the group so classified. The recent riots in Detroit are evidence of the Negro's desperate desire to escape from overcrowded slums.

When a Negro family comes to the attention of a case work agency, it is not unusual for improved housing to be a pressing need if treatment of the more obvious health and social problems is hopefully to be attempted. However, adequate housing is usually not available; if it is, the rent is frequently in excess of that which the agency will pay. Too often, the result is that the family remains in the substandard housing and the more constructive plan, which included improved housing, is sacrificed.

The experience of protective agencies lends conviction to the statement that unemployment contributes to delinquency in the young and to crime among adults. Those who feel that they have no stake in society show little concern about conforming to accepted social patterns and laws. In one of a series of studies made by the Department of Sociology of the Chicago Institute for Juvenile Research, the rate of delinquency among the population of white boys, ten to sixteen, was 3.38 from 1927 to 1933. For the same period the rate was 18.45 among Negro boys of the same age. There are many contributing factors to delinquency, but in the opinion of the juvenile court of Chicago, the low income in the homes of the Negro boys is believed to have been of paramount importance. Theft, which is often related to economic need, is the most common type of delinquency among the Negro boys. The absence of the mother from the home because of need for supplementing the family income frequently results in a lack of proper supervision of the children.

Regardless of the immediate and primary cause of delinquency the case worker often finds that low income, or lack of income, is prominent among the secondary causes. When anticipating the success of the treatment attempted this is not encouraging because the case worker knows there is only remote likelihood that there will be any appreciable change in the economic status of the particular family.

Health is of primary importance in efforts to increase the individual's capacity to meet the demands of the environment. We know that health too is closely related to economic factors. This is true, not only because of the inability to purchase adequate food, shelter, and clothing, but also because of the hazards of certain occupations in the low-income bracket and the instability of the labor market. The National Health Survey found that the frequency of chronic, disabling illnesses and the resulting disability were considerably higher among relief and low-income groups than among more comfortably situated groups. The heavy demands on clinic, hospital, and sanitarium facilities, as well as the lack of them in many communities, aggravate health problems which in many instances could be corrected with proper care. In practically every community the demand on medical facilities is greater than the available resources can meet, but usually it is the Negro who is subjected to the greatest restrictions. Frequently, unrealistic quotas are set up in public hospitals and sanitariums, and often private facilities are entirely closed to the group. The result in both North and South is serious, especially when the illness is due to a contagious or infectious disease and the housing does not permit the protection of other members of the family, even though great care may be used by the social worker to interpret the consequences involved.

The attitude of the Negro client regarding his individual circumstances as expressed to, or observed by, the case worker is important and has to be considered in connection with efforts to give case work services. There are many clients who demonstrate a normal, even a zealous, drive to become self-supporting. In those instances, it is frustrating, when the person is unsuccessful in securing the type of work in which he is interested and for which he is adapted or equipped. It is not unusual for a series of such experiences to result in bitterness and antagonism. When this happens the client is easily engulfed by sporadic movements or organizations which makes him less responsive to constructive stimulation. The attitude of the employable person is sometimes that of resignation and a willing acceptance of the continuation of assistance. Frequently, this can be traced to a greater sense of

security on relief than would be found in the type of employment available. There is also the youth who is reluctant to take advantage of opportunities for training because of his assumption that, although he trained, he will be unable to secure employment.

In the summer of 1941 the Illinois Technological Institute had 800 scholarships available for training in defense industries. These were offered to young men, with two or three years of college training, who did not plan to return to school in the fall. Information regarding the scholarships was announced in the Negro press and churches. Nevertheless, in spite of the intensive campaign, only seventy-five of those who registered were Negroes. The attitude of many was, "Why waste the time? They won't hire us anyway." Their point of view became a reality when the eight who were accepted completed their training and certain employers refused to hire them. However, all are now employed, and one large manufacturer who then refused to accept Negroes has found it expedient to do so since the Chicago hearings of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice. On the other hand, there are numerous instances where opportunities for training have been readily taken advantage of when there has been reasonable assurance that it would lead to employment.

War and preparation for war offer employment for many who would not otherwise have it. Because of lack of equal opportunity in industry, as well as in the Army, Air Corps, and Navy, the Negro does not feel, from a personal point of view, the incentive to put forward the type of effort one does spontaneously when confident that opportunities and advancement are given on the basis of demonstrated ability. This has disturbing implications even beyond the case worker's area, but it is doubly difficult for the case worker who tries to stimulate a person to pursue opportunities when that person has in mind both the threat and the demonstration of unequal treatment.

It is significant that Negroes are not accepted for membership in a number of labor unions. Consequently, opportunities for apprenticeship in certain trades are not possible. This has even affected school systems which offer vocational training, because they have taken the position that there is no value in giving a

person basic training for a skill which offers him no opportunity for employment. The Washburne Trade School in Chicago, which is a part of the public school system, bars Negroes from classes in steamfitting because of restrictions in the steamfitters' union. There are other unions which have constitutional restrictions against the Negro, and still others which do not name him as such, but which can continue to keep the Negro out as long as the majority of the union members wish to do so. There is, however, encouragement in the fact that the Congress of Industrial Organizations has a national policy against discrimination. This has resulted in certain gains.

Additional encouragement can be secured from the many instances where the National Youth Administration and the Work Projects Administration have given opportunities for experience in types of work in which private employers would not have usually accepted the Negro. Such opportunities have resulted in job placements that might not have been possible had the person not had the work experience in a situation comparable to private industry. For example, in a recent civil service examination in Cook County, Illinois, over two thirds of the twenty-three Negroes who passed high enough on the clerical and stenographic lists to receive immediate appointments had secured all their experience in the NYA and the WPA, whereas all the whites had secured their experience in private industry.

It is important to note that the differential in educational provisions offers another great handicap to the Negro. In the South the public schools have, for the most part, failed to provide equal educational opportunities for the Negro in the dual school system, which is admittedly expensive. In many Northern communities, on the other hand, you will find Negro and white children being graduated from the same school system, but often the Negro child receives preparation inferior to that of the white child because, too frequently, those in authority are lax about requiring teachers to live up to desirable standards in communities predominantly Negro. This, in turn, often results in capable teachers not wanting to teach in schools in those areas, because the teaching experience there is not satisfactory or stimulating.

In addition to the effect that employment opportunities, housing, health, training, and the client's attitude have on case work services to the Negro, the service which a case worker is able to offer is also closely related to the attitude of the worker involved. I consulted case workers of public and private agencies in Chicago. In every instance there was an expression of the worker's concern, and often his discouragement, because of difficulties in working through a plan for the rehabilitation of Negro clients. Repeatedly unsuccessful efforts on the part of certain individuals to secure employment in spite of demonstrated ability; the lack of housing for a family which should be moved; lack of resources for recreational, medical, or miscellaneous needs; all tend to discourage a worker and to lessen the effectiveness of the case work services offered. The concern and discouragement of the case worker did not seem to indicate overidentification with a particular client, but rather frustration with the total set of factors.

In some instances workers expressed concern over the lack of community resources in the Negro areas and raised the question as to whether or not this was an evidence of apathy on the part of the group being served. There seemed to have been failure to recognize that in the majority of instances resources are created, not as a result of aggressive activity on the part of those in need of them, but through leadership offered by those who recognize the need.

We know that the attitude of the community has a vitally important influence on the provisions available for any group in a given area. Too often, for the well-being of the recipient of assistance, the community believes that there is a danger in making allowances large enough to be compatible with health, decency, and self-respect. Arguments to justify this often include the statement that the family would have no more if it were dependent on the earnings of its members.

Recently, I read a thesis submitted by John M. Gandy, a candidate for the degree of master of arts in social service administration, at the University of Chicago. His thesis, "The Negro and the Federal Public Assistance Program," deals with old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind programs in

twenty-five states, seventeen of which are Southern. The following is a quotation from the manuscript:

In all three programs one characteristic of our whole assistance program evidences itself very clearly and that is the relationship of community attitude to the administration of the plans. They all operate within the framework of the social and cultural systems in the local communities. In those states where the Negro traditionally does not participate equitably in the political and economic life he does not participate equitably in the assistance plans. Until there is some provision made to prohibit differential grants, undesirable administrative policies, and less local responsibility, this condition will prevail.

The extent to which the case worker is instrumental in perpetuating differential grants is suggested by conclusions based on observations made by a member of the staff of a national organization which makes surveys in the public welfare field. He is of the opinion that although prejudices are not, in general, brought to bear officially on relief allowances to Negroes, it does happen unofficially. On the basis of informal interviews with workers, he has the impression that even though a standard budget may exist, in practice there is a differential in the allowance the Negro receives, because the individual worker will arbitrarily reduce the amount given. He further commented that even though this may be known by persons with supervisory responsibility, it is not usually frowned upon by them. It is, of course, difficult to gather data to substantiate such a claim. This is in striking contrast to the experience of agencies which take need only into consideration. Their monthly figures often show that the allowances for a Negro family are in excess of the allowances to others because, granting that the need is approximately the same, a Negro family will usually have fewer personal and community resources on which to draw.

The changing scene in employment, due to the war, makes it not only expedient, but obligatory for the case worker to assist the Negro client to use to advantage the demand for increased man power, not with the objective of excluding others in the regular labor pool, but with the objective of equal participation and integration of the Negro on the basis of ability and without

a wage differential. This thought carries with it the importance of the Negro being absorbed at all levels, not only in the lowest bracket of the employed, so that when the inevitable retrenchment comes he will not again find himself in the group which has profited least financially, has the least skill, and is consequently of the least value from the point of view of the employer.

I believe that the effectiveness of the case worker in approaching such an objective relates in part to the extent to which social workers as a professional group understand the economic factors which affect the Negro, and the resulting social problems and attitudes. The objective of economic integration rather than segregation of the Negro makes it increasingly important that case workers do the following:

1. Keep informed of opportunities for employment, not only in classifications which are traditionally open to the Negro, but in all classifications.
2. Become familiar with the preparation necessary for such employment and the channels through which this preparation can be secured.
3. Utilize all opportunities and direct Negro clients who are believed to have necessary aptitude and ability to the proper place for the necessary training and consideration for employment.
4. Attempt to develop increased morale and self-confidence on the part of the Negro client.
5. As opportunities present themselves interpret the individual Negro worker to the employer.

Some may believe that part of the foregoing is more properly the function of vocational schools and employment services. I agree, but I also believe that this is another instance where the case worker can, with professional wisdom, add her effort to that of the specialist, if an effective and constructive case work job is to be done.

Whether in the North or South, the Negro is at the bottom of the economic scale and consequently comes to the social agency with a disproportionately large share of the social problems that go hand in hand with poverty. The case worker is frequently handicapped in her efforts to give constructive case work service

to the Negro by lack of resources, the attitude of the community, and frequently by her own attitude, for too often the case worker is inclined to accept a lower standard for relief and possible service to the Negro. Integration of the Negro at all levels of the economic structure of this country on the basis of his ability is essential, not only for the benefit of the Negro, but also for the purpose of giving the total population the benefit of the contribution which the Negro can make and which is so greatly needed.

CASE WORK WITH THE ADULT OFFENDER

By DAVID DRESSLER

THE CORRECTIONAL FIELD is somewhat confused in its thinking. There are good reasons for this state of affairs: the variegated backgrounds of the personnel; the failure, in some places, to differentiate between case work and sheer sentimentality; the absence of any unequivocal knowledge on crime causation.

The confusion in our thinking is not characteristic of this field alone. All of social work is concerned, from time to time, with new theories. And the resulting proliferation produces, for a period, some confusion and faulty conclusions. We no sooner learned to say "dynamic passivity," than we had to drop the term and part of the concept, in favor of "controlled relationship." Then we were buffeted by "attitudinal therapy," "relationship therapy," and other terminology borrowed from psychiatry. When we emerged, with a vocabulary of "oedipus," and "ego-libido," and "id," and "withdrawal," and "guilt feelings," we began to speak of our work as "therapy," to call ourselves "therapists." Then a body blow deflated us and we were informed that we were not therapists at all, we were not doing therapy; case work is case work and therapy is therapy. We were dealt the *coup de grace* by the assertion that we weren't even doing "treatment," we were giving "services." Then a hail of blows was delivered while we were against the ropes, and we were jabbed a one-two with "function" and "partializing of experience." Saved by the bell, we have retired to our corner to think things over. And

we must come to the conclusion that two things happened in that stunning round—case work became more realistic and, in the fight, lots of people became confused.

Is it any wonder, then, that for a time correctional case workers dashed off madly in all directions, sang a song of psychiatry, spoke knowingly about deep therapy, and facing reality, and the treatment situation, before case work itself was fully aware of the difference between a psychosomatic symptom and an organic pain in the neck?

Now, to profit from the newer knowledge in case work, we need to take stock, to face reality ourselves. Is there an "old" and a "new" case work? Are manipulative techniques *de trop*? Are we to "treat," or to "give services"? Are "modern" case work concepts applicable to the correctional field?

In dealing with the adult offender, are we to give services, or treatment? To me, this is a quibble over a definition of words, or over emphases. If we forget "treatment" in the sense of "therapy," and think of it as a process, as doing something, then it is no different from services, in that the worker has something to offer, the client has something he wants, and decides whether he wants it from a particular agency, on its terms. There is no intention to imply that every client needs "treatment" of his total personality, or that he necessarily is emotionally unadjusted. The client who seeks a job gets services from an agency when it helps him get a job. That may be the extent of the service. And it is treatment of the needs of a man, when the agency delivers a service. The client who wants help in resolving some conflict accepts the service of the agency, and the ensuing process is treatment.

Without formal articulation, we have long emphasized the fact that the agency worker, society, and the individual must accept the limitations and possibilities of agency function before there can be an effective working relationship. Ever since there have been probation and parole systems we have insisted that they are to perform given functions, to offer specific services to offenders willing to accept service on the agency's terms.

The offender must understand the function of the agency, what it offers, what its limits are, what his part in the contact will be.

This is of particular significance in a public agency such as for probation or parole, where the offender is initially not a "client" at all, but an individual involuntarily under the jurisdiction of a law enforcement agency with case work orientation. But the probationer or parolee must decide for himself, however, whether he wishes simply to be under supervision as long as he abides by a prescribed mode of conduct, or whether he wants to avail himself of services offered by the agency under given conditions.

The agency worker must understand just what areas he may enter, what services he may offer, and on what terms. Were this not so, the public agency worker, theoretically, could make himself oblivious to one essential, that all services are to be offered on the condition that the recipient understand that the law must not be violated, that he must conduct himself in accordance with society's mores and rules of behavior.

There is logic in the assertion that if the agency clearly defines its functions and limitations, the client is better able to localize his problem and solve it. In the voluntary agencies, as Jessie Taft points out, the case worker defines his role "in terms of what he is there to do," leaving the client free "to discover whether this is an answer to his need." This situation obtains only in a limited sense, however, in the probation and parole fields. If the probationer or parolee wants service, he is free to get it; but even if he does not, he must recognize that the peace officer is there to prevent further depredations on society. This he must accept, and this must be the framework within which any other treatment operates. To this extent, understanding the function of the agency crystallizes the individual's thinking as to what he must do, and it makes clearer to him what he may accept or reject voluntarily of the agency's proffered services. Parenthetically, it should be pointed out that our probation and parole agencies are principally service organizations, depending on referral for the tangible aids of relief, medical care, etc.

I question the concept currently in vogue of partializing of experience through the use of function. I cannot believe that anyone gets a service for only part of his being. I feel that it is unimportant to argue this, because it is helpful to think, in theory,

about the particular part of one's being that requires something. But willy-nilly, the whole organism is bound to be involved, to greater or less extent. It is not part of me that needs a job, it is not just one set of experiences I need to be able to get a job. It is I who need a job, I who must experience within the function of the agency.

Because I believe case work is more than treatment of an individual, I cannot subscribe to the theory advanced by some, that long-used diagnostic methods are of no value because the client's will places him in a relationship with the agency on the basis of, (1) his needs as recognized by him alone; and (2) the agency's functions. Need, as recognized by the client, is the outcome of previous conditioning, and one can no more prevent himself from inquiring into the background than he can from thinking about his client. Furthermore, probation and parole agencies have a special need for certain diagnostic methods. The pre-sentence and pre-parole reports are basic to what may be termed the intake procedure of the agency. The private agency, at point of intake, asks: What is the immediate problem? Does the client want service? The probation or parole agency must ask: Who is this person who requests probation or parole? Even if he wants service is he a suitable risk in society? Many individuals who would gladly accept probation or parole will not be given their liberty, because they represent a jeopardy to the community. How are we to determine this without a study of the person's background, his conditioning, the development of his personality pattern? How are we to select for probation or parole if we reject diagnostic methods, partially inefficient as they may be, based upon background study? Happily, the generic field too seems to be veering away from a shyness in inquiring into backgrounds.

It is still a curious phenomenon that case workers want to insist, as a thesis correlative to the alleged freedom of the client to choose his agency and his service, that the client alone knows best what should be the solution of his problem, what he needs of the agency. True, he knows best what will give him temporary relief in a given moment, what will make him feel better, but not every client has insight, not every person has adequate intelli-

gence, and not everyone has a social outlook. Case workers need to consider, not just what the client wants, but what society and the client need of each other. In the correctional field it would indeed be dangerous to consider only what the individual believes to be the solution of his problem. And, while it may not be as clearly accepted in private case work, I feel exactly that way about that field. I would not violate the personality of the client. I would not assume omniscience in deciding what is best for people. Frequently, the client does know best, but often society knows better; for treatment cannot possibly be of the individual, it always is of the individual in society. The adult offender is often not an adult in emotional development. The emotionally immature offender, like the child, does not foresee the consequences in terms of society's rights or definition of his acts.

Ask a parolee what he wants of the agency, and if he were to reply truthfully he might say, "To be let alone to commit another crime." Ask him what he needs, and a true response might be, "To be allowed to continue believing that I am right, society's mores wrong. To be permitted to operate under my own moral code, no matter what this means to those about me."

I believe what has confused us has been that we have accepted generalizations from the generic field as applicable equally to all case work endeavors. We do this even though the proponents of some of these theories never had us in mind. When they speak of the client's right to self-determination, we tend to forget they are thinking of a highly selective clientele of a highly select agency. Probation and parole do not have so highly selective a case load, the involuntary "client" coming to the agency often without even accepting the fact that he has a problem.

Furthermore, in generic case work theory, the focus may tend to be too much the individual alone. Even in private agencies this is unrealistic, just as it would be for public agencies to think of society and of society alone. The focus has got to be the individual in a society. The worker treats to make a person more comfortable in society. Hence, the worker must think of society's definition of "behavior which can be tolerated," so that the individual may live comfortably with himself and others.

After all this theorizing as background, and considering the valuable contributions of all schools of thought, what can we say of case work with the adult offender in a public agency, in the light of present-day thinking? What can we attempt to fix pragmatically as our body of theory?

First, it is important to accept the fact that the public has as great a stake in the treatment of a problem as has the individual, for there is a mutual interaction. There is no individual outside society, and as public workers, dealing with a criminal group, we must define, for the treatment situation, what society wants if the individual is to adjust on a socially acceptable level.

Second, the individual is a total personality—one being.

Third, the approach to a solution of his problem must be as scientific as possible; as objective as necessary; diagnostic and evaluative in part; dependent in no small measure on the will of the client to solve his problem, and his understanding of what it will take to solve it best for himself within society.

Further, the function of the agency must bring reality to the case work situation. By understanding that function, the probationer or parolee is better able, (1) to focus on those problems in which this nonvoluntary agency can help him; (2) to understand what limitations the agency imposes on itself and him; and (3) because the agency has law enforcement functions, to grasp what society, through the agency, is expecting of him, whether or not he solves his problems to his own satisfaction.

The offender has demonstrated that he has once been seriously maladjusted in terms of society's definition of social adjustment. It follows that he may not yet be the person best capable of deciding what his problems are, let alone how to cope with them.

What then, are the goals of the public agency dealing with the adult offender? The principal one is to aid him in the solution of his problems so that he may become acceptable to, and accepted by, society and himself, to the end that he and society may be the better satisfied. The functions of the public agency must all revolve around this primary goal.

What then, will or can such an agency mean to the erstwhile offender? He must accept the fact that the agency had no more to

do with his coming to it than he did, and usually less. He had so acted as to incur the penalty imposed by society. He has had extended to him the privilege of conditional freedom under specific conditions. He must accept the realities of this situation. He must become law-abiding. The very acceptance of this reality situation is treatment of a sort. He must be willing to want to be law abiding. He must, therefore, refrain from certain activities which give rise to the notion that he is not preparing for normal social living; for instance, he may not associate with criminals, he may not live riotously. He must perform certain activities which lead one to believe he wants to be law abiding. He must be willing to work and support his dependents, to meet his parole obligations regularly, and to be frank and honest in revealing to the parole or probation officer what he is doing. The rest is voluntary. He will remain at liberty if he does no more than refrain from serious wrongdoing. This the agency, by duties imposed upon it, will insist upon, or, facing reality, conclude that the individual should not be at large. If, beyond this, the offender feels the need of treatment, recognizes the existence of problems, wants to do something about them, and is capable of profiting from treatment, he may receive such other services as the agency's functions permit, provided, further, the probationer or parolee is willing to take some personal responsibility for the course and outcome of treatment. In that situation, the parolee's status is precisely the same as it would be in any private organization.

Can the probationer or parolee get case work service under such a definition of function? Certainly. Any case work organization operates under rules of eligibility. One agency requires that the client first dispose of certain real property; another, that he come at certain hours for a given number of weeks; a third, that he fill out a questionnaire upon which will be based the decision of acceptance or rejection. Our agencies require, as hard reality, that the recipient of service refrain from antisocial acts of omission or commission which may lead to criminal conduct. Accepting that, the probationer or parolee is eligible for other treatment voluntarily entered into.

What do those services then consist of? What constitutes the

treatment process? The same as in any other case work agency. Gone is the belief that manipulative-environmental case work must hang its head in shame. We see again that relief, employment service, medical aid, housing service, home nursing care, child placement, are tangible, effective, essential services in treatment of both environment and personality. We know that the offender, patterned in antisocial conduct, finds it possible readily to slip back into crime and that positive aid, constructively administered, is a powerful factor in social adjustment.

We know too that the self-conscious, analytical, and evaluative processes of the case worker may be at least as effective as any other discipline in aiding in the resolving of emotional conflict, in forwarding personality growth, adjustment to one's milieu. The dynamic interaction of worker and parolee or probationer may offer guidance, advice, stimulation, and growth within the individual's limits.

If personal adjustment means the mutual acceptance of the individual and society toward the end of mutual security, confidence, and well-being, then case work with the adult offender, operating within its own limitations and definition of function, can be as effective as in any other case work field. The delimiting features will be, not the law-enforcement function of the public agency, but the general hypothetical state of case work knowledge, and the quality of the personnel in our field, which desperately needs fewer machine-gun penologists, fewer sloppy sentimentalists, and more objective, realistic, well-trained case workers of stable, mature, and sensible personalities and temperaments.

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED IN THE WAR AND POSTWAR PERIOD

By *LEONARD OUTHWAITE*

THE LARGE PROPORTION of young men rejected for army service; the National Health Survey conducted by the United States Public Health Service; the experience of the Farm Security Administration with studies of health conditions among our rural populations—all these have made us aware of our national health and of how large a number of Americans must be considered in poor physical condition.

Not only the armed services but also industry has been rejecting men on physical grounds. Industry rejects, every year, large numbers of men who possess special education, experience, or skill critically needed in our war production.

In a broad sense, rehabilitation of the handicapped means the conditioning, reconditioning, or restoration of a person to a state in which under suitable conditions he is able to perform useful work. The process of rehabilitation may involve a single means or a combination of means, such as medical or surgical care, physical upbuilding, mechanical aids, psychological or psychiatric direction, special or vocational education, etc.

There are a number of points that should be included in an improved and expanded rehabilitation program that would not only fill our immediate urgent needs, but would also be the foundation of a program to care for the load that will increase as the war continues and that will last into the postwar period.

There is no possibility of two programs—one for war and one for peace—and no need for two. The principles remain the same;

only the tempo of the program and the type of industrial situation will vary.

Furthermore, rehabilitation is still one of the developing arts of life. The only way we can get safely from yesterday to tomorrow is to improve what we do today. This is particularly true in rehabilitation work. The elements in building an effective program are, from one point of view, new in rehabilitation, but from another point of view many of them are merely aimed to free rehabilitation from the shackles of limitation. Some of these shackles are imposed by law; some seem to be self-imposed. Freedom from both types of limitation is essential if rehabilitation is to keep up with its job.

I have worked on the problem of increasing the available labor supply for the Office of Production Management and for the War Production Board. Obviously, the physically substandard or handicapped constitute a population group that might, under proper care, add materially to our labor supply. My work has made me conscious of how inadequate is the sum total of all our programs for rehabilitation.

The National Health Survey reported twenty-three million people with some physical impairment; of these, some four million had permanent physical disabilities. It would be from the latter group that a rehabilitation service would draw its cases. It has been recently estimated that with the best possible use of present resources and personnel we could rehabilitate not more than twenty-five thousand persons a year. How far short this is of meeting our real needs may be judged from the fact that at present rates about ninety thousand persons each year are added to the number of disabled persons needing rehabilitation; while from the already disabled 2,200,000 of employable age about eighty-five thousand will become unemployed and require rehabilitation.

These are the figures for only the more seriously and obviously handicapped cases such as would be acceptable for rehabilitation under present practice. It does not include the many persons suffering lesser physical ills who are rejected by industry and who are not reached by the present rehabilitation program. These figures do not make allowance, either, for civilian disablements

growing out of the war or for disablements occurring in the armed forces.

With letters of complaint, letters of inquiry, and offers of service pouring in to the Office of Production Management from every state in the Union and from all types of cases we were soon aware of the importance of the problem and the need for dealing with it in some systematic fashion. At the start we wished to make it plain that our office had neither the funds nor the staff to offer any immediate and direct assistance to the handicapped even if we had had the authority to do so. It did seem to us that we had a responsibility to recommend a policy and to strive for its adoption. It appeared that the best method would be to work through existing government agencies dealing with the handicapped, such as the Rehabilitation Bureau and the United States Employment Service. At the same time it appeared that the normal services provided by these agencies, though probably acceptable to a nation at peace, neither reached all the types of people nor provided all the services required by a nation engaged in total war.

In view of what our national needs are, the steps we have taken seem a little halting. They have, however, been in the right direction. A statement on policy respecting the employment of the physically handicapped, the disabled, and the older workers in war industry was drafted, and accepted by the National Labor Supply Committee on January 2, 1942, and by the National Labor Supply Policy Committee on January 17, 1942. This reads:

It is the policy of the Labor Division of the Office of Production Management to further the safe and suitable employment of physically handicapped¹ persons in the war industries to any degree that may be practical.

The Division recognizes its responsibility to use in the war program those persons with physical handicaps who can be trained or who are now able to contribute to industrial production.

To this end the National Labor Supply Committee, through regional, state and industrial area Labor Supply Committees, will pro-

¹ The term "handicapped" is here used in a general sense. It is intended to cover many types of persons who, because of some physical defect or handicap, find it difficult to obtain employment in war industries. The character of the disability may range from some temporary or slight imperfection to some quite permanent and serious injury or the loss of some special function.

ceed to develop opportunities in occupations which disabled persons can perform and will do everything possible to secure the support and acceptance of this policy by labor and management.

Employment of the physically handicapped is a special aspect of the vital problem of increasing labor supply to the war industries and in releasing greater numbers of men physically qualified for service in our armed forces.

The use of workers in the older age group is closely related to the use of the physically handicapped and should be regarded as a part of this program.

The purpose of the Office of Production Management policy on employment of the physically handicapped is to improve the volume and quality of the skilled labor supply to war industries, but as a by-product, may also supply experience that will facilitate the adjustment to industrial and civilian life of soldiers and sailors injured in the war. This is a patriotic service that deserves the full coöperation of labor, industry and government.

Attached to the statement on policy was a brief plan for coöperation which requested various agencies to increase the volume, or to specialize the types of service rendered persons who might thereby become producers in war industry. For example, the Rehabilitation Bureau was asked to record its placement cases through the United States Employment Service, and to review its whole procedure with a view to seeing if it could not handle a greater number of cases suitable for use in war industry. The United States Employment Service was asked to refer suitable cases to the Rehabilitation Bureau and also was asked to specialize its service to the handicapped, at least in the major centers of war industry. Those in charge of training were requested not to exclude the handicapped, but rather to see how their special abilities could be trained and utilized, and to include some information on the use of the handicapped in training provided for foremen and job instructors.

The whole program was discussed with, and distributed through, the Regional Labor Supply Committees and also the regional representatives of the Minorities Office. We have developed contacts with management and with industrial physicians and personnel men and have urged a judicious revision of physical standards for employment selection. We have not urged the aban-

donment of the pre-employment physical examination since, properly used, it serves as a protection, not only to the employer, but equally to the normal worker and the handicapped worker. We have urged that the examination be used to facilitate the placement of handicapped workers in suitable employment. The use of the physical examination merely as a device for excluding workers from employment is not justified, either from a medical or a social point of view, and in time of war it may endanger our man-power program.

We have made some progress. Conditions for employment of the handicapped have shown improvement in particular areas, but we are far from dealing adequately with the many cases presented, or from having a real system for the rehabilitation of the many persons rejected by industry and by the selective service. The various industries are coöperating on a voluntary basis, but none of them has acquired the means or personnel or authority for a major attack on the problem. We have fragments of a program but not the program itself.

President Roosevelt recognized this some months ago when he asked Administrator Paul McNutt, of the Federal Security Agency, to call a meeting of the leading administrative officers of the armed services and of all governmental agencies that had an interest in the rehabilitation problem. The purpose of this meeting was to advise in the development of a program of rehabilitation that would deal, not only with civilians and with any civilian casualties of the war, but also with injured veterans of the war; that would be adequate not only for the war, but also for the post-war period. The planning is under way, but it has not yet produced an all-around acceptable program.

Certain points seem to me to be important if not basic in any comprehensive national program. What I have to say is entirely personal and unofficial. If there is criticism, it is not aimed at any individual or institution but is designed only to show how little rehabilitation has advanced as a movement, and how much remains to be done.

The purpose of rehabilitation is to put as many persons to work as rapidly as possible in suitable employment that utilizes to the

best advantage the talents, training, and skill of the individual. Rehabilitation so defined is essential to sustained war effort and is also a valid objective in time of peace.

Rehabilitation is not "charity," or "welfare," or "doing good." The handicapped worker is not a proper subject for charity. He has a self-respecting right to rehabilitation and to any job for which he can be physically and technically qualified. He has a corresponding duty to work for a living, at a wage commensurate with his performance.

Rehabilitation is a part of the nation's business. Just now it is war business. It should be run as nearly as possible on a business basis.

Our present need demands that we re-examine our definition and practice regarding rehabilitation and that we extend the scope of the program so as to provide such assistance as may be needed by the many workmen who suffer from minor injuries and physical defects and who are, therefore, excluded from war industries. Many of these cases require only minor medical attention or surgical repair; many are already skilled in a trade and would require only brief education or retraining; many require only some mechanical aid in order for them to become again employable. Because they have been unemployed, these cases are seldom able to finance themselves through even a brief period of rehabilitation or to secure material services or guidance. Once they were employed, however, the majority of them would be able to repay, in whole or in part, the expenditures involved in their rehabilitation.

A large volume of such rehabilitation work could be financed by setting up a special revolving fund for this purpose, the rehabilitation of the individual cases being taken care of through a system of reimbursable loans. Such a plan would meet certain practical and administrative problems, but these are capable of solution. The plan would have the advantage of making any given sum of money cover a larger number of cases and extend over a greater period of time. Its chief advantage, in my opinion, would be that it would make the rehabilitation process available to a wider range of cases; that it would remove a suitable part of

the rehabilitation program from the charity category, and that it would free many of the rehabilitation cases from a feeling of dependency and to that extent would preserve the integrity and self-respect of the disabled person and his family. The feature of the revolving fund would, in itself, make an important contribution to the rehabilitation process.

Rehabilitation has been a tangle of many agencies and conflicting interests. Not even the present Federal program is broad in scope or free in operation. Our present Federal setup makes rehabilitation a dependent function of secondary or tertiary importance. It is tied to vocational education and, in turn, to education; whereas many of its most important functions are not related to education at all, but to medicine, to surgery, to public health, to public welfare, to industry. Split between state operation and control and Federal operation and control, drawing its money from both sources, it is not surprising that its operations are halting and its plans restricted.

In the past agencies and methods have been built about types of cases or causative factors. Separation and specialization have resulted. While in some cases this has sharpened the attack on particular problems and strengthened particular agencies, it has adversely affected the whole field of rehabilitation. People do not fit into the neat rules and requirements of the agencies. Their needs range all the way from the simple and slight to the complicated and severe. They are continuously developing: The slight defect is either corrected or it increases with age. The civilian factory worker becomes a soldier. The military casualty of today becomes the civilian worker of tomorrow. Often great numbers of simple and practical rehabilitation activities go unnoticed or unperformed, while difficult or spectacular cases get more attention. It is the middle field of moderate cases that has been most neglected, yet it is here that the greatest number of cases lie, and here that there is the greatest prospect of social and economic benefit.

Millions of cases go on unassisted, doomed to progressive physical disrepair and diminishing employment. Why? Often because at first they were not "serious" enough; later, because they "of-

ferred a poor prospect for permanent rehabilitation." The mere reproduction of agencies based on case and cause concepts will not correct the defects of the present system of rehabilitation.

The nation's need for a simple, comprehensive service is crucial. It must be based on a new and comprehensive ideal; not an abstract ideal, but one embodied in a working plan that will transcend the present concepts of rehabilitation as defined by law. It must face all the needs of the situation and comprehend all types and conditions of men. It must have at its disposal all the modern services and resources that the cases may require: physical as well as mechanical correction; necessary hospitalization; education or re-education; vocational guidance and job-analysis, placement, follow up, and research; industrial and labor relations; promotion and publicity; and coöperative relations with all qualified agencies, public and private.

The visible handicap from which a person suffers is usually accompanied by economic, social, psychological, or psychiatric problems that must be overcome. The plan must be deep enough and broad enough to meet any of these related problems. The object is to create whole men; only whole methods will succeed.

We need as a war measure an immediate plan to put an increasing number of men to work. What will work immediately for war should be perfected for peace. In the plan there is a place for all agencies and for all workers who will forget artificial differences and assumed prerogatives and get to work.

The Federal Government should lead the way, but whether it will do so or not is another matter. It may well be that administrative and political powers are so fettered and so slow moving that some state, even with its lesser resources, still may be able to move faster and more effectively. Or it may be that the private agencies are most free to provide the leadership.

It seems essential that if the Federal Government will not do the vital job that is demanded it should at least set up minimum standards to be universally applied, and below which no state should be permitted to fall. On such a minimum foundation the states and the private agencies could build the more specialized and particular services.

Certainly, if any plan is to succeed we need a national campaign of information and education on the general subject of human handicaps and the methods by which they can be overcome; a campaign in which all can join, run by an agency that serves no single special interest. We need a public awakening similar to that which took place a generation ago with respect to the need for pure food and drug legislation. The time is now! Without popular backing no legislation permitting such a vital program will pass or, if it passes, will it be sustained in practice.

Rehabilitation must go on a business basis. As a national program it cannot continue and cannot succeed as a voluntary or a charity effort. Rehabilitation has secured many services from hospitals, clinics, and private physicians and surgeons. But there is a limit even to charity, and that limit is far short of the present requirements. If physical repair and medical care are part of rehabilitation, then these services must be paid for on an honest basis.

The cost per case may well be higher than is true under the present Federal-state services; but the higher initial cost would be rewarded by a better job with better end results. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that better and more comprehensive services would necessarily raise costs, for many administrative expenses could be reduced per case. If the revolving fund were introduced as a basic principle in rehabilitation this alone would lower the total cost. Further, if reimbursement were used as a method of spreading rehabilitation to the less fortunate person who would not otherwise be reached, the movement would not stop short of any needy handicapped person in America.

Whatever the cost of an extended rehabilitation program it would be more than offset by financial and social gains. Nothing is so disastrous to an industrial enterprise as an idle plant and accumulating overhead burden. In our human economy nothing is so dangerous to the welfare of the state as idle men who might be reconditioned and put to work. Every time we rehabilitate a man we remove a financial burden from the state. Every time we put such a man to work we add a productive unit to industry and

economic value to the nation, compared with which the cost of rehabilitation is of trifling importance.

One final element is our responsibility. We must all strive unceasingly to see that our own shortcomings are not visited upon the handicapped and disabled who are already carrying more than their just burden. Remember that every time we disagree, every time central authority falters and our administrations fail to mesh, thousands of individuals suffer. It is they who fail to receive treatment or a helping hand. It is they who have to fill out more forms, meet more requirements, wait longer for transfers or referrals.

It is obvious that any comprehensive plan must be a composite; it is equally obvious that any suitable system of rehabilitation must operate so smoothly that the individual is never conscious of the transition from one agency or administration to another. Anything short of that is making the handicapped pay for our own administrative sins.

ALCOHOLISM

By SYBIL M. BAKER

THERE ARE MANY allusions to alcohol in ancient literature. About five hundred years before the birth of Christ there was written an old Midrashic fable:

When Noah began planting a vineyard, Satan poured in succession the blood of a lamb, a lion, an ape, and a pig over the soil and said, "When man shall drink one cup, he will be like a lamb, meek and humble; two cups will make him as strong as a lion; three or four cups will make him romp about irresponsible as an ape; while still more will make him roll in the mud like a pig."¹

Thus is the symptomatology of drunkenness described, and so through the centuries have animals been selected to designate different clinical types until Thomas Nash, in 1592, describes eight "kinds" of drunkards: the ape, the lion, the swine, the sheep, the mawdlen, the martin, the goat, and the fox.² Just as there were attempts at diagnosis, so were there attempts at treatment, usually by punitive methods such as banishment or public exhibition in stocks.

Organized tolerance and understanding gradually appeared in religious movements, and 100 years ago the Washingtonian movement was conceived in Baltimore by a group of alcoholics aroused to reform by a temperance lecturer. In the 1858 report covering the first six months' existence of the "Home for the Fallen," the Boston Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society confidently says,

¹ Robert Fleming, "A Psychiatric Concept of Acute Alcoholic Intoxication," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, XCII, No. 1 (July, 1935), 95 (quoted from: W. M. Feldman, "Alcohol in Ancient Jewish Literature," *British Journal of Inebriety*, XXIV [1927], 121-24).

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

"Little else is found to be necessary for the treatment of inmates other than moral suasion; a sympathetic assurance of equality, confidence, and brotherly love," and the report goes on to state, "It was soon demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt that this system of reformation was precisely what was required to meet the peculiar views of the inebriate."³

Although physicians, clergy, criminologists, and social workers have had their theories as to treatment, little concentrated effort has been applied to understanding the etiology of the problem. Even less has there been any pooling of constructive thinking to challenge traditional error. Recognizing this, a group of educators and scientists met in Washington in the summer of 1937 and organized the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol. A year later, the Council was accepted as an associated society of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Council recognized the many intrinsic difficulties of the alcohol problem and the emotional and political elements that have produced still further complications. Believing that an intelligent and effective plan of action could be built only on a complete factual basis, the Research Council defined its primary purpose as that of ascertaining the facts, and the secondary objective that of making these facts available to the public in such a way that they would do the most good.⁴ The personnel of the Council is predominantly made up of persons from all fields of science plus competent educators, businessmen, and public officials who serve on the board of directors and on active committees. The Council has as its official organ the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, edited independently, which publishes scientific papers.

Thus for the first time an attempt is being made to coördinate the knowledge and resources of medicine, psychiatry, physiology, chemistry, sociology, criminology, and social service in a wider understanding of alcoholism and its recognition as a public health disease. This involves much fact finding, for accurate statistics as to the extent of the disease in most areas are unavailable. This

³ *Report of the Association of the Home for the Fallen*, Boston, May 1, 1858, p. 6.

⁴ *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, I, No. 1 (June, 1940), p. 105.

is a challenge to social workers, for they have a wealth of material in their case records concerning the alcoholic and his family, and are accustomed to abstracting from the other sciences affecting human behavior such knowledge as can be utilized by them for diagnosis and treatment. They also are used to interpreting this knowledge to the lay person.

Alcoholism is defined as a disease due to the excessive and continued use of alcohol, so serious as to require thorough and systematic treatment. It is a problem when drinking interferes with normal physical, psychological, occupational, and social activities.⁵ Because its genesis is so complicated, and because the alcoholic is generally an immature, emotionally unstable person, it is desirable that physical illness or deformity be eliminated if possible. When the alcoholic person is brought to the hospital, there are disturbances of the sensory and circulatory systems and a disorganization of muscular coordination. There may be acute or chronic malnutrition, and a marked avitaminosis may exist. Another physical symptom in the acute alcoholic is dehydration, which of itself may produce some mental symptoms. Gastritis and other intestinal disturbances are common. There may be frequent changes in heart action, and a painful peripheral neuritis may exist.

Laboratory tests of urine and blood not only show the amount of alcohol concentration, but may reveal faulty organic conditions. Good nursing is now considered one of the primary requisites in the care of an alcoholic. In the Washingtonian Hospital the treatment for a person acutely ill consists of the immediate withdrawal of alcohol, an examination to eliminate physical complications, forced fluids, sedation by carefully chosen drugs, vitamins, and sometimes insulin and glucose, followed by food such as the patient can digest. Biochemists and some medical psychiatrists believe that alcohol poisoning is due to malfunctioning of some organ of the body, such as the liver, and that some day science will find a specific chemical with which this organ can be treated, thus eliminating the acute poisoning.

Most people drink to feel differently; therefore, we are chiefly

⁵ Research Council on Problems of Alcohol, 1940.

interested in the emotional manifestations of alcoholic intoxication. There are disturbances of speech, behavior, of intellectual functions such as memory, reasoning, and judgment, together with changes involving distortion of the outside world. But the fundamental change is a change of mood. At first, there is euphoria, and increased confidence in one's mental and physical powers; but as the intoxication progresses, there is rearoused an increased depression and feeling of worthlessness. The first euphoric mood is almost a pseudo-stimulation, for actually alcohol has a depressing effect on all psychological functions yet measured. In psychoanalytic language, alcohol impairs the function of the super-ego.

There is agreement among present-day psychiatrists that alcohol addiction is symptomatic of many psychoses, rather than their primary cause. The exceptions to this are delirium tremens and Korsakoff's syndrome.⁶ An alcoholic mental disease seems to follow an early development of the drinking habit, yet can begin only after many years of drinking. An early diagnosis of alcoholism and methods of treatment which may be effective in the early years must be found if the psychoses are to be prevented.

The *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol* is issuing a series of fourteen "Lay Supplements," and in the first number five types of alcoholic drinkers are described:⁷

1. The moderate drinker drinks for the taste, or to secure the results of a stimulant or sedative. He consumes less and drinks less regularly, usually with meals, and can stop easily.
2. The habitual social drinker drinks practically every day, for a "kick" and for a change in behavior. He is apt to increase quantities and frequency, and so may become an excessive drinker.
3. The excessive or abnormal drinker can stop if he desires, but he believes that drinking is an easy way to overcome a defect in personality or to make up for lack of self-confidence, though he may drink even out of sheer recklessness. He may become an addict, but is more apt to become a chronic alcoholic.

⁶ Karl M. Bowman and E. M. Jellinek, "Alcoholic Mental Disorders," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, II, No. 2 (September, 1941), 315.

⁷ "Lay Supplement No. 1," June, 1941, pp. 14-16 (published by the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 4 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. Series of fourteen supplements may be purchased for \$1.00).

4. The alcohol addict can keep up interest in life only by using large quantities of alcohol. He cannot voluntarily give up alcohol even when he knows better and has a desire to do so.

5. The chronic alcoholic is a person who has developed a bodily or mental disorder as a definite result of many years of heavy drinking.

Scientific writing is mostly about the symptoms and treatment of acute alcoholism and chronic alcoholism. There may be acute alcoholism with any type of drinking of alcohol. The abnormal and excessive drinkers may become chronic alcoholics. We will consider the addict a chronic alcoholic for discussion purposes.

The effects of the absorption of alcohol vary according to individual tolerance and there is no known way to measure this. However, the physical and mental symptoms do change in relation to the quantities and timing of alcohol consumption. At first there is a period of excitement due to lessened inhibitory influence, although the early changes may be so slight as to be readily overlooked. This is followed by a stage of confusion and incoördination, gradually developing into a stuporous state. Extremely large doses of alcohol lead to unconsciousness or coma. Dr. Emil Bogen attempts to correlate the physical findings and behavior with actual concentration of alcohol in the blood. There is scarcely any recognizable change with a concentration of less than 100 mg. percent (one-tenth of one percent). Stupor begins with a concentration of about 400 mg. percent, and death will occur with a concentration between 600 and 1000 mg. percent.⁸

Dr. Robert Fleming, chief of the psychiatric visiting staff of Washingtonian Hospital, uses two all-inclusive classifications of chronic alcoholics:⁹

1. Symptomatic drinking: the excessive use of alcohol due to an underlying mental, physical, or social condition in which the alcohol relieves some of the symptoms.

2. True alcoholic addiction: characterized by special alcoholic craving, i.e., compulsive and habitual drinking. There is a founda-

⁸ Emil Bogen, "The Human Toxicology of Alcohol," in *Alcohol and Man*, ed. Haven Emerson (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 133-37.

⁹ Robert Fleming, "The Treatment of Chronic Alcoholism," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCXVII, No. 20 (November 11, 1937), 779.

tion of personal inadequacy or social maladjustment. The patient's drinking is a symptom of this feeling and leads to disturbed and inadequate habits of hygiene, especially sleep and diet. There is a close relationship with psychoneurotic symptoms, in that alcohol is used to screen unsatisfactory external or internal realities.

The treatment of symptomatic drinking is the treatment of the underlying condition with an interpretation of the behavior pattern that has been established. Improvement of the social situation is attempted if necessary. For example, Mr. A., now forty years old, was a skilled but irregular worker who had begun drinking at seventeen. In the hospital he was found to have a congenital deformity of his sexual organ, easily corrected by operation. More than ten years before, he had consulted a doctor, but he felt ashamed to have an operation in his home city and once even started for Europe; another time, for the Mayo Clinic. Each time the funds were drunk up en route. The psychiatrist was able to help the patient verbalize his fears and understand that he was attempting an emotional escape from a minor and not uncommon physical condition. The social worker arranged with a surgeon to perform the operation "on credit" and relatives loaned the money for hospitalization. Habits are strong; we wanted to help him establish another behavior pattern, so plans for the dangerous idle hours of his evenings were encouraged. Thus the psychiatrist, surgeon, and social worker each had a role in rehabilitating the patient. As soon as he was physically able he went back on the Work Projects Administration, but in a few weeks sought out private employment. He hasn't drunk for a year and a half and is a self-respecting and respected man. He has worked steadily, has paid up his bills, and is now contemplating marriage. Free surgical and hospital care could have been arranged for him, but he had good potential earning power and it seemed best to have him meet the cost himself.

The treatment of true alcoholic addiction is a complex but well-defined psychiatric procedure. A vicious circle has been created. A problem exists that drinking temporarily relieves, then aggravates. The circle must be broken before one can treat the underlying problem. Mr. B., for example, was formerly a capable

district manager, but his position was abolished due to the depression. For some time he was out of work and in desperation took a very inferior institutional job. He began to drink excessively and his sisters feared this would prevent his getting back to a skilled job. They nagged him constantly. He answered that they had good positions and should get one for him. Actually, this man has a high intelligence. There is no evidence of intellectual deterioration, but there is a definite undiagnosed mental disease and deterioration of the personality, not due to alcohol. He can be happy on earnings of from twelve to sixteen dollars a week and get along in the community without drinking if too much is not expected of him. He was first placed in a protected job, and then found work in another institution which he does creditably and he is well liked. In fourteen months he has had only one break, that was nine months ago. The case worker's task was to get the sisters to accept him as an adult able to make his own plans on a level within his limits. One sister responded to case-work efforts, saying, "I needed a social worker more than Henry did." Emotionally as well as intellectually she now accepts his limitations and has been able to interpret them to the other sisters. Our direct treatment with Mr. B. has been through simple suggestion and some medication. He has reported to the outpatient department whenever requested to do so and has frequently seen the social worker.

There are several alcoholic psychoses of which three are most common: delirium tremens, acute alcoholic hallucinosis, and Korsakoff's disease or syndrome. Delirium tremens was originally thought to be the result of the sudden withdrawal of alcohol. This is now known to be untrue; it can follow acute illness or trauma even if the patient has not drunk for some time. It can occur only after many years of severe or prolonged drinking, accompanied by lack of proper food, gastritis, lack of sleep, or extreme exposure. It occurs in only some 4 percent of the very heavy drinkers and is a mental disorder of brief duration.¹⁰ It is characterized by extreme activity and tremor. Hallucinations, usu-

¹⁰ "Lay Supplement No. 4," July, 1941, of the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*.

ally of a visual and animal nature, occur. The patient is extremely irritable and apprehensive, and is sometimes disorientated. The acute delirium lasts only four or five days. Formerly, more than 50 percent of persons suffering from delirium tremens died, probably largely due to the failure to recognize the accompanying complications, such as cardiac collapse, pneumonia, or injuries. Recently, delirium tremens has been thought to result from complications in alcoholism of dehydration, malnutrition, and glandular disturbances. Deaths are now much less frequent. Immediate hospitalization is desirable.

Acute alcoholic hallucinosis may appear suddenly or come on gradually, but the duration is longer than in delirium tremens. It may be preceded by one or more attacks of delirium tremens. The outstanding symptoms are hallucinations with auditory experiences definitely predominating. These are accompanied by persecutory delusions and by apprehension or fear. They so arouse the patient that he may threaten or attack the person he believes is accusing him of misconduct. Some psychiatrists feel this to be more a symptom of the reaction of a schizophrenic personality toward alcoholic intoxication than a true alcoholic psychosis.

Unlike the other psychoses, Korsakoff's syndrome occurs in a greater percentage of total drinkers among women than among men and has the highest onset age of the alcoholic psychoses.¹¹ It may follow delirium tremens. It is generally accompanied by peripheral neuritis and, more than any of the other psychoses, is related to avitaminosis. There are severe disturbances of the memory function, particularly for recent events. There is disorientation in space and time and a tendency to much confabulation. The patient will tell very convincingly of activities and situations that never existed. The mood is generally indifferent, although sometimes euphoric. Prognosis for complete mental recovery is not too good.

The treatment of the psychotic, severely psychopathic, and feeble-minded alcoholics is eliminated from our discussion of the treatment for alcoholic addiction. Medical opinion does vary, particularly in respect to the withdrawal of alcohol, but all public

¹¹ Bowman and Jellinek, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

institutions and the majority of private hospitals withdraw alcohol abruptly. Sedatives are generally given, since rest is necessary. Good nursing care is essential, and restraint is generally contraindicated. Food is important, and a high-calorie, high-vitamin diet is provided. Chemicals are given to combat dehydration and to restore normal equilibrium of the body.

There are many forms of treatment directed toward relieving or eliminating emotional symptoms and causal factors and an effort is usually made to ascertain experimentally the type of alcoholic that might respond best to the various types of therapy.

Drug therapy is usually accompanied by psychotherapy, but need not be. There are two types of drug therapy. First is the conditioned reflex treatment that has been practiced for years in various forms. Dr. Voegtlin, of Seattle, has records covering a five-year period and claims a large percentage of recoveries. The Washingtonian Hospital began this form of treatment early in 1942 with seemingly similar success, though it is too soon to make positive statements concerning the results. All we do know is that many people who previously drank almost continuously have not drunk for a period of from one to three months since completing the treatment series. We use emetine instead of apomorphine, since it is not a narcotic, and we emphasize the need of a special setting, adequate preparation, and adjustment of as much of the patient's external world as may be indicated. The second drug is amphetamine or benzedrine sulphate. The purpose of this drug is to establish a sense of well-being, thus doing away with the need for alcohol to overcome the feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. We give benzedrine to many patients who continue with out-patient follow-up care.

Psychotherapy is probably the most approved method of treatment and may or may not be accompanied by the use of drugs. In psychotherapy there is an analysis of the life history with an interpretation of situations as the patient can accept them. He is encouraged to look at himself objectively and to face situations rather than to avoid them. The alcoholic reacts to his state of insecurity and social tension with a tendency to give in passively, but to react by overcompensation. Alcoholism reverses this proc-

ess, giving a feeling of social security and acceptance as long as the intoxication lasts, but the underlying tension and terrors reappear in increased form as the intoxication wears off. Psychotherapy attempts to build up a feeling of adequacy, self-reliance, and social acceptance without the need of alcohol. There is almost always a period of "pseudo-insight" after detoxication. It may be followed by a period of revolt, particularly at restriction. During these two periods many patients stop treatment. Psychotherapy must continue for many months.

Psychoanalysis has not been especially successful in curing alcoholism *per se*, perhaps partly because drinking binges interfere with the analytical technique. When compulsive drinking is only one symptom of an underlying emotional disturbance, analysis is, of course, helpful. Many alcoholics seem to have a marked oedipus complex.

Suggestion is highly successful, particularly with the lower-grade intellectual person, or with the person who is servile and unaggressive and responds to a more aggressive leadership. When the psychiatrist obtains a good transference from such a patient, the latter may respond to suggestion extremely well. Hypnosis is still employed by some doctors with varying degrees of success.

Religious conversion is undoubtedly one of the most successful forms of treatment ever employed. Although religious conversion and the like do not attempt to reach the causes of the drinking, there is a rapid reorientation of personality that may make the need for alcohol less urgent. At the present time the most active group in this field are the Alcoholics Anonymous, who have a deeply religious philosophy and believe that an ex-alcoholic is the best one to give the alcoholic the faith that he can overcome his habit. They approve of hospital care for the person while intoxicated, but most of their therapy is through meetings and personal contacts. The A.A. meetings are confessional in nature. They assist tremendously by furnishing social outlets and by helping the patient realize that he has friends and is not a complete outcast.

In December, 1940, the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol held a three-day symposium in Philadelphia in connec-

tion with the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. At that meeting one of the speakers stated that there had been no program on alcoholism at any National Conference of Social Work since prohibition, whereas prior to that time it had always been one of the chief subjects for discussion. The comment was made that it seemed unfortunate that social workers, with so much to contribute, had become that discouraged with the problem. At the annual meetings of the Council in November, 1940, and in 1941, one of the group conferences was called "Alcoholism as a Problem in Social Work." In 1940 the importance of preventive work was emphasized, and it was proposed that in various local communities an organization be created that would coördinate the activities of all agencies interested in alcoholics. In 1941 the conference made four recommendations to the Council as a whole:

1. That there be a continuing committee or group to carry on between annual meetings for the exchange of information, to further education and awareness, and to stimulate progressive action in the study and treatment of alcoholism. The group constituted itself a committee until a permanent one could be established.

2. That the Welfare Council of New York City be requested to set up a permanent committee composed of representatives of all social agencies dealing with, or interested in, alcoholics.

3. That the Welfare Council of New York City be asked to undertake a survey to determine the extent of the known problem of alcoholism and how it is being handled by social agencies; that in order to do this, there might be a unified statistical or factual reporting plan for a limited period of time in order to gather available data in social agency records. It was hoped that this might be carried on simultaneously by similar councils throughout the country.

4. That there be sessions on alcoholism in the various state, or regional and national, conferences of social work, in order that present-day thinking might be as widely disseminated as possible.

Social workers have hesitated to undertake the treatment of alcoholics because of the lack of medical and psychiatric resources,

but there are tools to work with if we recognize them. Our knowledge of behavior patterns offers an entree into the treatment of the alcoholic himself or, even more especially, of the world in which he lives. The doctor and the hospital, at best, can have only a short contact with the patient. He is influenced most by his everyday world. His family is the closest and, therefore, the most influential group as well as the one most affected by his maladjustment and serious deviation from what is accepted as normal in family life. Social workers, no matter what their field, are familiar with the effects of an alcoholic person on a family in terms of broken homes, dependence, disease, and emotional instability, but they are less familiar with the ways to remove the problem or lighten the effect. We want to know what social workers can do to help the alcoholic person become nonalcoholic and, in the meantime, live more acceptably in his community.

In this discussion I shall be considering the true alcoholic person who is physically and mentally ill, not the common drunkard who eats, sleeps, and drinks and is little disturbed because he is idle and untidy. Perhaps this distinction is based most on intelligence and the degree of deterioration. The drunkard is a problem, but case workers can offer him nothing, and the community can offer him little but segregation. On the other hand, the true alcoholic drinks compulsively, often does not eat while he is drinking, and is disturbed because he feels that he is failing himself and his family and all other people to whom he may be obligated. He compensates for this feeling of inadequacy by projected hostility and aggressiveness toward those at home; at the same time, exhibiting passivity and inertia toward those whom he considers in authority outside his home. He is usually defensive or self-accusative.

If there are, as one doctor says, between 15 and 20 percent of the population whose body chemistry will not permit them to take any alcohol without the habit sooner or later becoming a problem,¹² we who work with the alcoholic person must try to help him and his family understand and accept the fact that for

¹² Merrill Moore, address at the National Probation Association Centennial, May, 1941.

him alcohol is a poisonous narcotic drug that must be avoided without exception if he wishes to be well and live normally. The diabetic cannot take sugar. If he does, beyond the limit found for him, he will die. Science knows no way to determine the limit for an alcoholic, but we do know that if he drinks too much he will die, and if he drinks any he will be sick.

Most alcoholics say they do not like the taste of alcohol but that they do like the effects of it, at first. The effects they seek are euphoria and anesthesia. They have not learned to accept their own limitations, but live in a world of phantasy and wishful thinking. Frustration creates discontent and anxiety, and the only way they have learned to obtain relief and be happy is to live in the dream world they create under alcohol.

Accepting this as a basic fact, we realize that the transition from an irresponsible, immature person into a responsible adult is a long process. There are not enough psychiatrists to do it, nor are there enough other people with understanding and patience and skill to do an adequate therapeutic job. But even though we cannot completely change his personality, we can try to make the alcoholic less of a problem and expense to himself, his family, and the community as a whole.

The alcoholic is his own worst enemy. He is usually of better than average intelligence and gives the appearance of an extrovert, that is, a "good fellow," generous and affectionate. Actually, he is generally an introvert, and is unstable, careless about financial obligations, fickle, emotionally childish, and untruthful. This dual personality arouses ambivalent feelings in the case worker as it does in his family and friends. It must be faced squarely before case work therapy is begun.

If the alcoholic is a sociable person, encourage group activities. Loneliness, whether real or imagined, is often used as an excuse for drinking. The alcoholic seeks companions in the barroom or takes alcohol home to drink to forget how alone he is. In our hospital we are encouraging the discharged patients to return to visit or play games with the convalescent patients, and semisocial evening groups are being formed.

There is a tendency for the alcoholic to be falsely generous, and

he must learn that happiness and satisfaction cannot be bought. The alcoholic is usually a poor giver, because he is seeking a reward of recognition and gratitude; but he is an excellent receiver, for he likes comfort and protection as well as affection and attention. The psychiatrist and the social worker must recognize this infantile behavior and plan ways to stimulate growth and independence. It is essential that there be a wise, understanding "parent." This "parent" can be anyone—the term is symbolical of the type of person or relationship. If there is already someone close to the patient who could be a wise "parent," he should be carefully trained to understand the psychology of the alcoholic.

Practically everyone has some mature segment in his personality, and the therapist, while recognizing the immaturity, should try to increase the area of maturity. As with a child, dependence must be accepted at first, but it should not be prolonged. All the stages of development must be recognized, dealt with, and passed through. With the alcoholic there are inevitable lapses, but one is dealing with an adult mind and intelligence and should gradually train them to control the emotions.

Because the alcoholic is not successful for a continued period of time, or cannot concentrate sufficiently to complete tasks, he is apt to be criticized. This results in increased feelings of inferiority and self-pity. It helps him if his small accomplishments can be recognized. Goals that can be reached should be set, but constantly more difficult ones prescribed, each requiring a little more effort to attain. At home he might be given certain tasks as aids to the household plan, with the implication that he can do them better than others. Gradually the household tasks can be increased in number, or better still, in amount of skill or length of time required to complete them. This is, of course, no more than slow training in the development of concentration and stick-to-it-iveness.

I quote from Florence Hollis:

The client must be in control of the guiding of his own life, making for himself the choices that are necessary in fitting his individual desires into the social fabric. The worker may help him to see more clearly the nature of the world in which he lives, may help him to

use his own ability more effectively, and may at times soften the impact of external realities. But the final choice of the pattern he wants his life to take is his.¹³

When it is demonstrated that the patient's right of self-determination is detrimental to others and he makes no effort to meet required standards, then he alone must be responsible for the consequences. For example, Mr. R., who did not finish high school and has never worked steadily, began drinking at fifteen. He married and had two children, but there were frequent separations and the family was much of the time on relief. The wife was complaining, yet accepting of him and the situation, and she was beggarly in attitude. The patient had very superior intelligence, yet never finished anything he began. In fact, he reached the point where he never started anything he thought of or planned to do. Every possible physical and mental cause for his condition was ruled out. It was agreed by all that he wanted someone else to make all decisions and do everything for him. Therefore Mr. R. was thrown entirely on his own. All possible requirements for relief were strictly enforced. Aid was at a minimum. Life was so uncomfortable for him that he finally found a good job. He will probably lose it, but this rigid holding to a standard of self-responsibility must continue for years if Mr. R. is ever to grow to be an adult.

If the patient can be under the care of a doctor for help with his personal problems, including drinking, the case worker's contact should be with the person in the family or community who can be the alcoholic's "parent." If there is no doctor and the social worker has to become the "parent" temporarily, weaning should take place as soon as possible, though the actual length of time may vary from a few weeks to many months. But someone must be trained to have a permanently satisfactory relationship with the client. At best, the case worker's is and should be a professional relationship—kind, sympathetic, and understanding—but it can never helpfully be a personal relationship.

Mr. C.'s mother died shortly after his birth and, due to an

¹³ Florence Hollis, *Social Case Work in Practice* (New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1939), p. 5.

accident, he was nearly blind. His father remarried when he was five and his stepmother had no children. She became very fond of Mr. C. and taught him at home. He became an efficient clerk, but even then he was drinking quite heavily. Following his marriage, he immediately returned to his mother's home. The drinking increased. Finally, his wife left the home, taking her second child, but Mr. C. and the boy remained with his mother. Drinking was excessive and continuous. He could no longer hold a job, and at this time a social worker was consulted. Some interpretation was attempted with the couple, but the man was hostile and little was accomplished with him. He became ill and hospitalization was necessary for many months. This gave the social worker an opportunity to help the wife plan for the future. She had been a poor manager and housekeeper, and thus had warranted some of her mother-in-law's criticism. She studied food and money planning, and a home was ready for Mr. C. when he was discharged from the hospital. Then a deliberate plan to wean him from his mother was begun. Gradually, friendship for, and reliance on, the worker increased. The wife was helped to be more maternal, thus assuming some of his mother's characteristics; yet, at the same time, she deferred to him as head of the family. After many months, Mr. C. learned to depend more and more on his wife and less on the worker; at the same time he was able to work and assume responsibility for the home. His mother was slower to share in the plan. The drinking which had been resumed upon his discharge from the hospital became practically nil, but the worker did not feel that final success had been achieved until several years later when the young couple finally moved to another part of the city, quite distant from the mother's home.

Psychometric testing may reveal personality traits otherwise repressed, and some tests are supposed to indicate deterioration. Personal inventory and aptitude tests have been very helpful, as usually they show some things a person can do better than others. The result can help to focus effort and challenge ingenuity. The alcoholic with a good mind can be encouraged to take any available job, however unpleasant, and use this as proof that he is not easily "licked" by circumstances. A patient should begin working, or looking for work, during the third or fourth week he is in the

hospital, so that he will be facing outside situations and temptations while still living under the protection of the hospital. At the same time he should be urged to use his spare time to study for the type of work for which he is best qualified. This may take real interpretation on the part of psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker.

It requires considerable skill on the part of the wife or mother to carry on this program of re-education, and she will undoubtedly need constant recognition from the social worker of the effective role she is playing. An immature wife is a hindrance, just as a totally immature alcoholic does not offer a favorable prognosis. The latter is apt to cease treatment at the pseudo-stimulative stage, immediately after detoxication, and to respond only with words, not thoughts. Attitudes toward money and financial obligations are hard to change. There is an "easy-come, easy-go" pattern of life that is probably deep rooted. A new set of values must be built up.

Mr. G. was an only child. He had a serious illness as an infant and was cared for by nurses during most of his childhood. His father and mother were devoted to each other and gave the son all the material advantages, but little of the demonstrative affection he craved. He graduated from college and was for short times a successful salesman. He has drifted from one job to another and in and out of marriage. Perhaps because of their unconscious guilt for having neglected him as a child, the parents began to buy him out of all his difficulties, so he turns to them now for every need, although he denies this. Psychiatrists have agreed that it will probably be necessary for him to "reach the gutter" before he will realize that only he can get himself out. The parents are torn between their feeling of shame lest he get into more serious difficulties, and their wish that they might be less troubled by him and his many demands. They have realized that their way has brought only unhappiness for both him and them and have agreed not to see the patient for several months and to give him nothing. The patient begs to see his mother, makes long-distance telephone calls to the worker frequently, asking that his mother telephone him. At each call he is told that letters offer a more normal and less expensive means of communication. The mother has needed

many supportive interviews to help her maintain a firm, consistent policy, particularly when the son said he expected to go to jail because he had lost some of his employers' money while drinking. Yet, when she did not give him the money, he was able to earn the amount he had lost and he did not go to jail, although I believe he spent an equal amount of money in long-distance calls trying to get help.

Unfortunately, the alcoholic commonly is, or has become, so introverted that his affections are not deep seated. He craves a demonstrative love life, or else has built up a surface rejection of all emotion. He demands the right to do whatever he wishes, but he does not recognize the other person's right to do the same. If he is unpleasant or disagreeable he believes he should be forgiven immediately. This results, more than any other factor, in tenseness at home, strain among children and, ultimately, in broken homes. Yet, because he is a pleasant fellow, new superficial ties are formed. At this stage, extramarital relations are apt to be established, partly because he tries to get or give love and seems to have lost the chance of receiving it at home, but also frequently to prove his potency, for a chronic alcoholic has great fear of becoming impotent. Causes of his behavior are so deep seated that a psychiatrist is really needed to interpret and help establish new values.

Ostracism by his own group is what most alcoholics fear and usually reach. This is particularly true of the woman alcoholic, in whom the feeling of guilt and loss of social acceptance cause increased fear, hostility, and suspicion. More often than with men, the woman alcoholic seems to have begun heavy drinking following some extreme physical or emotional disturbance. A large number are solitary drinkers. If a woman alcoholic seeks companionship, it is apt to be with those of a socially inferior class, and an actual chronic alcoholic state may occur in fewer years of excessive drinking than it does with men, probably because of her far greater emotional tension and the community's real rejection of her. She must feel that she is of some value and have opportunities to go where she can be socially accepted. The Alcoholics Anonymous group have helped many women for this very reason.

Some women alcoholics have responded to the emotional pressure of the times and are throwing themselves into defense and other war activities. As one woman said to me, "This uniform means more to me than anything else I have ever had. I must not soil it, nor must I let anyone know how low I had gone."

Many an alcoholic stops drinking for a while, then feels he must "prove himself man enough to take a beer." Our job is to help him realize that he must be man enough *not* to take a beer. His immediate family must understand the physical and mental complications and dangers and not offer the patient any alcohol. It is, however, important for the individual to learn to do what is best for him without expecting his family or friends to conform. Again to use the metaphor of the diabetic, the latter does not ask his friends to do without sugar because he must, nor does he allow himself to become emotionally disturbed at the sight of sugar. We realize that the craving for alcohol differs from that of sugar because of the former's narcotic quality and the common use of it for social purposes. But the patient can sometimes be helped by so simple a comparison.

The behavior and reaction of members of the family may be based on emotionalism itself, or may be brought about by the years of living with an alcoholic person, being caused or aggravated by the vicious circle that drinking and immaturity have created. That is why the alcoholic person should be helped to understand that the attitude of other people cannot change instantly just because he is trying. Again, reality has to be faced and used as a strengthening influence rather than avoided. The social worker can help the other members of the family to understand this process of growth so that they, too, may face the reality of the situation.

We have all tried to understand and help people whose lives have been affected by alcohol, but have given up frequently because of the feeling of hopelessness of accomplishment. Now, with all fields of science pulling together, there should come increased knowledge as to the causes of the disease and more adequate ways of treating it. So, with a look to the future, we should be able to work with individual alcoholics and their families, not only more intelligently and skillfully, but more hopeful of accomplishment.

CASE WORK AND CREDIT SYSTEM PROBLEMS

By MADELINE MOORE

IT REQUIRES A SHIFT in thinking to move from the broad social-economic aspects of credit to these phenomena as they appear in the case load of family agencies, public and private. The operations of our vast credit systems are seen in the social agencies more often in the misuse of credit than in its economic values. Case workers have been slow to appreciate the implications of the expansion of credit systems for families in their communities and to relate case work practices to sound planning for the control of credit abuses. Now that the Federal Government, aided by the war emergency, is attacking the problem, case workers may be encouraged to examine their handling of indebtedness problems and to work out some criteria for the treatment of individual situations that are socially and economically sound.

A knowledge of family economics is basic to a consideration of the strengths and needs of any family. The allocation from the family budget for installment purchases and payments on loans is of interest to the case worker, who should be in a position to estimate costs of credit charges as she computes expenditures for food, medical care, insurance, and other items in the family budget. With consumer borrowing and credit purchasing as extensive as they are today, the case worker's equipment is incomplete without a knowledge of the basic facts pertinent to the subject, such as the kind of credit agencies in the community, the legal controls on borrowing and installment purchasing, the kinds of securities the loan institutions require, the costs of interest and service,

where to find the least expensive forms of credit, what the client's contract contains, the penalties for defaulting, and the kinds of relief available to the client. Regardless of the number of cases in which a problem is focused around credit adjustment, the competent case worker should be in a position to form an opinion as to the soundness of the expenditures for credit in the family budget in any case she is handling.

I have chosen for discussion five cases in which problems involving the use of credit called for different social case work focus. The strains and evidences of breakdown among these clients are reflected in the handling of their family economics and thus in the use of credit available to them. I have chosen a group of families in which the head of the household was employed and where the income was at a level presumed by the community to cover basic needs. Adequate discussion of the cases would call for analysis of income in each situation in terms of the number dependent on it and also of such budgetary items as medical and dental service and individual needs for education, recreation, and clothing, and household furnishings and other items frequently overlooked in discussions of minimum budgets.

It is often in the effort to meet such needs that the client seeks credit, in too many instances mistaking loans as additional income and ignoring the expensive drain on minimum income of the credit costs. These cases illustrate planful as well as erratic and irresponsible borrowing and credit purchasing. They were selected as fairly typical examples of situations not too complicated by other social problems, to sharpen up what the case worker needs to know and to consider in respect to problems of indebtedness.

The first case: the Adrian family—man aged forty-five; woman, thirty-six, one child, six months old.

The client asked the agency's service in evaluating his capacity to manage a loan from a church where he was employed as porter and handyman. The board of deacons thought he was already too much involved with obligations to consider further credit but were willing to make the loan if the client, with the agency's help,

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could show his capacity to manage it. Exclusive of a mortgage of \$3,600 he already owed \$580 with monthly credit charges of \$68.50.

The facts the client presented on first contact and amplified in two subsequent interviews were verified by the case worker. The family budget, computed on a bare minimum basis and excluding credit costs, showed a balance of close to \$30 a month. Including the credit costs, there was a budgetary deficit of close to \$40. Two of the loans had been secured from small-loan departments of banks and were carried at a fairly low rate of interest. Two others were from small loan companies. On one, only a small amount remained to be paid off, but the other was fairly recent. The client kept books and had his receipts. He and his wife had worked out a system through which they attempted to meet different obligations from different weekly pay checks. The most pressing need at the moment was for \$98, the quarterly payment due on the mortgage. In the past they had saved regularly to meet this payment, but circumstances during recent months had brought the budgetary deficit out into the open, so to speak, although the clients were unaware of the situation as other than an acute and temporary need.

The couple boarded children from a child-placing agency which had used the home for many years and regarded it highly. Money had been borrowed to remodel the house for use as a boarding home. The family and foster children had to be regarded as a unit in estimating the family budget since it was difficult to segregate the cost of the children's care. The woman was a good manager, but her food estimate was lower than that of the agency's minimum budget and she failed to give sufficient consideration to clothing and medical incidentals and to recreation and social expenses of the children. During her pregnancy and at the time of confinement, there were medical costs and expenditures for house-keeping service which the budget did not provide. In addition, an older foster child, no longer eligible for financial assistance from the child-placing agency, remained on in the home although the cost of his care was not covered by the family income. Not only was there a sound, realistic purpose behind the contracting of each

obligation, but in spite of the amount of indebtedness payments could be managed if certain adjustments were worked out. The client had come for help at the peak of his credit-involved budgetary disorder, and to him, the solution was another loan.

What the case worker can offer in a situation of this kind is a clear, realistic review of the family's economic situation and their capacity to manage and work through to a more satisfactory solution of the situation. This client saw that he was actually running on an accumulated deficit, that some of his loans were much more expensive than others to carry, that he was not in a position to provide further for the adolescent boy, who was actually eligible for assistance from another public agency, and that he was carrying heavy insurance from which money could be released to help him wipe out one small loan. A plan was worked out by which the church advanced without interest a sum large enough to pay off the most recent and most expensive loan, thus reducing the interest he would have had to pay for a year or more. Such an advance of funds was in keeping with the cultural standards of the community and characteristic of the neighborly help requested and given before the days of widely advertised easy credit.

A comparatively brief study of the case revealed the stability of the family, the steady employment of the man, the planfulness and coöperation of the man and wife, their high repute in their neighborhood, and their readiness to work along with the agency. Though the client would have to continue to carry a heavy load (the mortgage would run for eighteen years more), he was in a much better position to determine whether or not he could actually swing any further credit and to evaluate its costs.

The second case: the David family—man aged thirty-five; woman, thirty-three; three children, ranging from six to eleven.

The woman, who was eight months pregnant, was referred by the prenatal clinic because she was in a serious emotional state which seemed related to the financial crisis the family faced. Her acute worry focused around the breakdown in the plans for her care during confinement. First, she was not in a position to pay traveling and incidental expenses for a relative whom she expected

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to come from a distant city to take care of the children. Secondly, she would have to go to a public hospital rather than to the hospital where the other children had been born, and it would be impossible for her to have the services of the obstetrician in whom she had confidence. This made her the more anxious because a year earlier she had had a serious operation and relied on the surgeon's knowledge of her condition.

The husband, a bus driver, was under considerable pressure from a loan company which was threatening garnishment procedures. His employer's administrative policies denied opportunities for work during the slack season to employees upon whom garnishees were imposed. The man's annual income of \$1,800 was dependent upon his securing a maximum amount of work during the slack season. The serious inroads on the family's budget resulting from bad credit practices were revealed in an exploration of the initial situation. Two years before, the man had cosigned a note for one of his fellow workers, who disappeared three months later. At the time, he looked upon the procedure as a "bit of red tape" and had no clear understanding of the obligation he was assuming. When the friend ceased paying the \$25 monthly due on the loan, the company secured a judgment against the client who, after protesting, made the best arrangement he could work out, that is, a monthly payment of \$12. He had been paying this for several months when his wife's serious illness, necessitating an operation, led him to borrow \$250 with monthly payments of \$19. During the slack season his monthly income was \$110, out of which he paid \$31 to the two loan companies. During the busy months, he had less than \$20 a month balance in his budget. The credit created a substantial deficit in the budget which the client had not faced until the time for his wife's hospitalization drew near.

The facts as presented by the client were found to be substantially correct. The couple had been self-maintaining with the husband tending to minimize the reality of acute needs and yielding with resignation to his friend's obligation, while the wife tended to exaggerate financial pressure and had a sense of im-

pending crisis, with resentment at the necessity of meeting the payments on the defaulted loan. On the whole, there had been forethought and integrity on the part of both the man and the woman in handling their financial responsibilities. There was a slightly overoptimistic attitude toward the man's chances for work during the slack season and a tendency to operate from the maximum wage level of the summer and fall, rather than from the base wage.

Efforts to locate the defaulting borrower were active and continuous on the part of the loan company and the client, but his whereabouts could not be ascertained. Legal consultation by the family agency indicated that the adjustment the client had worked out, that is, for 50 percent of the original amount, was as low as could be arranged. It was suggested that the client continue to make payments and sue the original borrower later for the whole amount. Two experienced legal consultants advised against bankruptcy proceedings because of the impairment to the client's future credit that would result. Moreover, his obligations would not be discharged but would be compromised. A single consolidated loan was recommended. The bank refused to consider the loan unless a cosigner was secured. This was found to be impossible, and bankruptcy was again considered. The client, upon personal legal consultation, decided against such a procedure.

In the meantime it was necessary for the wife to have public hospital care and for the agency to pay traveling expenses for the relative who took over her housekeeping responsibilities. Both the man and his wife showed definite conflict about accepting relief from the agency and from a public hospital. While the arrangements were being worked out, it became clear that the client looked upon relief from the agency as another loan. He was puzzled as to what the terms would be, stating that he had not wanted to push the worker to a more definite statement in regard to repayment as he was at a loss to know where else he could turn.

The painful situation in which the family found itself was not so much tied up with unwise borrowing, although the client could have done better in reference to the loan he actually contracted,

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but was principally related to careless, misleading credit practices and the irresponsible attitudes on the part of borrowers.

The third case: the George family—man aged forty-six; woman (second wife), forty; three daughters of the man by a previous marriage, eight to thirteen; one daughter of the woman by a previous marriage, nine.

The woman had been referred to the family agency by the children's court which she had consulted in regard to separate maintenance because the husband's children made it impossible for her to remain in the household. The woman was a stable but rather immature, rigid person unable to understand and handle the children, particularly the thirteen-year-old girl who dominated the household. The father, a policeman, had settled into a kind of depressed resignation. Most of the problems centering around the handling of money were tied up with the emotional instability of the children, and the father's and stepmother's inability to work out an adjustment. He borrowed and spent impulsively to meet emergencies. His monthly income was approximately \$325. He carried credit charges of \$87 a month for three loans which originally amounted to \$2,000 in all. In addition, he was paying installments on furniture and on a car. About a third of his income was allocated to pay off various loans and purchases. He purchased clothing on credit from time to time, at high installment rates. A few years before he had made a considerable investment in a house which the family lost because he was unable to keep up payments. The original loans were taken out to provide costly medical and nursing care for his first wife. When she became ill he tried to take over management and from time to time brought in a housekeeper. Because of the children's undisciplined habits and his inability to persist in any plan inaugurated, the budget was at sixes and sevens.

Exploration of the case showed that the stepmother was capable in handling money, in making over clothing, and in working out diets that were realistic in terms of a reasonable food budget for the family. During the six months' contact with the agency, the man and woman were able to work out many of their problems,

and she helped the two younger children to accept her as a substitute mother. However, she and the adolescent girl were unable to adjust their relationship. A plan was worked out by which the child could go to a boarding school, and the stepmother returned to the home. This case is an example of a situation in which there are great inroads on the family budget through the misuse of credit, where anxiety among family members is increased rather than relieved through unwise borrowing. Early in this situation it would have seemed impossible to the father to consider the cost of boarding school for the oldest child. While case work was focused around the emotional factors rather than the financial aspects, it was necessary to understand the family economics as part of the whole picture and of the father's frustration; he expected at any time to be disciplined because of his infraction of the department's rules relating to borrowing. He and his wife were more convinced about the need to clear up the family conflicts when they saw a relationship between them and the disorder of their economic situation.

The fourth case: the Edmunds family—man aged fifty; woman, forty; girl, seventeen; boy, thirteen.

The client stated that he had borrowed \$2,100 from five loan companies to pay medical and hospital bills and for convalescent care for his wife. He wished to borrow the same amount from the family agency so that he could pay off his loan, offering to pay back \$35 a month plus interest, and estimating it would take him about five years to meet this obligation.

He was employed by a municipal department. Three loans of the loans that he had contracted were from small loan companies, the outstanding amounts ranging from \$200 to \$240, all having been borrowed within the last two years and refinanced at various times. A fourth was from the small loan department of a bank. The fifth, for over \$1,000, was from the municipal credit union. The total monthly payments amounted to nearly \$110. In addition, there were one or two small debts to tradespeople and for installment purchases. These credit payments took all but about

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\$20 of the man's monthly income which, exclusive of the payments, just about covered the minimum budget for the family with, at the most, \$6 to \$8 a month margin. His plan for managing his finances to date had been to keep up payments on his loans out of his monthly income; when he completed four payments on a loan, he renewed it to the limit of his borrowing capacity, using this sum to meet regular household expenditures.

His most disturbing worry was the disciplinary action that might be taken against himself and friends who had cosigned his obligation with the credit union, for there were administrative rulings affecting borrowing outside the credit union. He feared that his own and his friends' jobs might be in jeopardy as a result of his borrowing and the threat of garnishee from two of the loan companies. He realized he could not continue with this plan of meeting his budget.

The man was found to have a severe cardiac condition, with rest and freedom from worry prescribed. In addition, he was asthmatic, with an old tubercular involvement. The family was stable, with a well-kept, simple home. Their educational plans, their interests in recreation, and their tastes in clothing were all just above what the man's income could provide. They had apparently lived simply and within the income until an invalid relative came into the home. Her supplementation of the income was sufficient to encourage a slight rise in the standards of living, and upon her death she left a small sum which helped fix this higher living standard. When that money was exhausted, the man found borrowing on easy terms an adequate substitute, from his point of view, for covering the chronic deficit in the budget. His wife had had no serious illness. The client stated he had used this story because he had found it so effective in borrowing money commercially. This family's economics had lost all structure. They were living on a kind of economic flying trapeze, leaping from credit institution to credit institution and demonstrating the weakness of credit investigations. The \$1600 salary and the tenure provisions in the man's job offered sufficient security, apparently, for him to continue borrowing until he broke down physically or

mentally or both. Apparently bankruptcy proceedings will have to be utilized in this situation.

The fifth case: the Roberts family—man aged twenty-nine; woman, twenty-five; baby, eight months old.

The man applied at the suggestion of his employer, who was attempting to work out a plan by which the client could be relieved of pressure from a number of creditors. The total indebtedness amounted to a little over \$1,100 including sizeable amounts owed to furniture companies, clothing companies, and the utility company, as well as two substantial loans to small loan companies. The total monthly payments were about \$75. The family budget, based on a reasonable estimate of needs and exclusive of credit charges, provided a margin of \$66 a month. The creditors jointly proposed a plan to help the client clear off his indebtedness, whereby he would pay a lump sum of \$65 a month from which each creditor would take a proportional monthly payment. The family agency was asked to help the young couple with the management of their budget so that they could pay this amount to their creditors. The client recognized some difficulty in handling money and agreed that he would be unable to manage his semi-monthly salary check unless he had help. Prior to his marriage, his earnings were considerably higher and he spent freely. In the interview he gave inaccurate information about his loans and installments and although he had come prepared to discuss his situation, he brought no statements or papers to help clarify it. He glossed over discrepancies and omitted one major loan from the total amount. He was in arrears with all his payments and expressed dissatisfaction with the purchases made on the installment plan. He explained that his initial indebtedness was a result of his wife's illness and an accident he had had. Later his wife stated he got into debt because he expected to secure money at the time of his father's death, but this did not materialize. He had contracted further debts for legal fees in an attempt to secure a share in the estate, but his lawyer had failed to work out a settlement. He stated that he had learned his lesson, for he was going nearly crazy with creditors pressing for one bill after another. He knew

they would have to manage and recognized that rent and some of his other expenditures were out of alignment with his budget.

Shortly afterward, two different individuals connected with the man's firm got in touch with the family agency to discuss the necessity for a change in plan, and raising questions about the adequacy of the budget as worked out. The client had consulted them in regard to other possible plans. Neither had an adequate picture of the client's circumstances. They saw him as victimized by his creditors. Later the client came in with another proposal, namely, that he get his creditors to settle for fifty cents on the dollar. An executive in his firm had suggested that the companies proceed with their garnishments and take their place on the line. A few days later these members of the firm advised the client that the amount of money involved was too much to be handled by pay deductions and recommended that he agree to the plan proposed by his creditors. The client decided to seek relief through bankruptcy in spite of the fact that one loan was guaranteed by a cosigner, and another by furniture sufficiently valuable to encourage the company to repossess it. His third debt was for the installment purchase of an expensive electrical appliance which the utility company would be glad to repossess. A fourth creditor was already covered by garnishment. The contract with still another firm contained a clause which made bankruptcy procedure difficult.

The problem here was that of a young married couple with unrealistic standards in terms of income and inability to save in advance to meet large expenditures. As a boy the client had been indulged by a hard-working father who secured his original job and helped him get sufficient training to make him valuable to the firm. He had persuasive powers which helped protect the job in spite of his employer's irritation with the pressure from creditors. The wife appeared equally immature and unable to take any responsibility in working toward a solution of their situation. The client was familiar with the variety of adjustments possible and had taken advantage of loopholes in the plans suggested for his relief. He attempted to rally the case worker's support and when

he saw that she was informed about what was involved in his transactions, he was plausible in his explanation of his difficulties.

In situations of this kind there is little that the case worker can offer in regard to a credit adjustment, unless there is real concern on the part of either the man or the woman to get on to a more realistic and less irresponsible basis of management. Early in contact there are clues to the patterns of spending and managing money and usually some indication of more or less delinquent exploitation of community resources and of relationships, for example, with relatives, with employers, and others. This tendency to exploit usually appears early in the client's reaction to the agency and his relationship with the case worker.

These five cases bring out some salient points in social case work with families who have problems in handling credit. They fall into three categories. The first and simplest type is illustrated by the Adrian family. The credit structure may be complicated, but the total family problem is pretty well focused around an adjustment of the acute economic situation arising out of, or piling up from, credit obligations. The worker, equipped with sufficient information from the clients, with basic case work credit data, and with knowledge that helps her estimate the clients' capacity to work through their difficulties, is able in a fairly brief service to help them considerably to move on to a better management of their family economics. The David case could also fit into this first category with the exception of the lack of foresight and somewhat overoptimistic casualness in handling money that led the client to expose himself and his family to rather unfair penalties resulting from too easy credit terms and unsound credit practices.

The George and Edmunds cases fall into a second category. In the George situation there was unnecessary and expensive use of credit tied up with personal and emotional conflicts within the family. It was with the latter that the clients needed social case work help. They can work through an adjustment of their own credit obligations if they are not reactivated to further borrowing as a relief from the struggles and frustrations resulting from the

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family conflicts. The Edmunds case demonstrates to even a greater degree the misuse of credit opportunities and the extent to which unsound credit practices play in to the weaknesses of the client.

The third category is illustrated by the Roberts case. These are the more irresponsible borrowers, usually sophisticated in the ways of credit agencies with a knowledge of their rights and obligations, and able to take advantage of the loopholes in the law. If extricated from immediate pressure from one obligation, it is almost certain that these clients will become involved soon again. In their behavior and attitudes they show many of the reactions that are found in the more readily recognized delinquents who get into other difficulties.

STANDARDS OF MEASUREMENT USED IN STAFF EVALUATIONS IN A PRIVATE AGENCY

By JEANETTE HANFORD

THE ATTENTION GIVEN to the evaluation process in the past several years has made it something of a truism to say that both supervision and evaluation follow the general philosophy and practice of the agency's case work job. Because this is so, however, we are in a better position today than we were five or ten years ago to discuss standards of measurement. Our evaluation of case workers has become clarified as our understanding of case work has taken form, and we have moved through a period of floundering around the worker's personality and development to a realization that we must measure him primarily by the job to be done. We are able to do this partly because we have arrived at a greater formulation of what the job is, and out of this formulation comes both the setting of standards and at least a beginning methodology of measurement of the worker's adequacy.

Elizabeth Cosgrove¹ has pointed out that the difference in the rating methods of public and private agencies is the difference of a psychological research (or mass) measurement as against a psychiatric (or individual) approach, and this perhaps corresponds to those aspects of a public agency which we consider quantitative and administrative and those aspects of a private agency whose work is usually thought of as qualitative. While this distinction

¹ Elizabeth Cosgrove, "Use of Service Ratings in Evaluation of Performance," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1940* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

may be valid and practical, there is much to suggest that we might learn from each other and that the qualitative and descriptive process needs to gain definition and objectivity. The thought given the subject in both kinds of agencies, however, seems to have provided some general agreement as to content and method of evaluation which are basic and sound in our practice today. These might be summarized as follows:

1. Evaluations should have a twofold purpose: (a) to promote the development of the worker and his understanding of his place in the agency; and (b) to serve as a method by which the administration can fairly select, classify, and adjust personnel to the demands of the agency job.
2. Evaluation should be a regular part of the agency procedures, and its use and application should be fully understood by the worker.
3. Evaluation should be a joint effort on the part of the worker and supervisor; its content should be known by the worker, and if there is disagreement he should have an opportunity to express his side of the question.
4. Evaluations should be written in form and done at stated intervals.
5. Evaluations should relate specifically to the performance which the agency is asking of the worker.

With these principles in mind we must ask ourselves: What are the standards of performance which we are setting for our staffs? How are they arrived at? It is perhaps safe to say that the majority of the larger private agencies have developed some kind of guides to be used in evaluation and that these have been worked out through the joint efforts of case work, supervisory, and administrative staff. In general, these have been pragmatic, observational, and intuitive rather than standardized or scientific. Nevertheless, our efforts have been grounded in practical experience, and if they differ from agency to agency and from year to year they are at least dynamically related to the job in hand. Granted that they are practical and real, their application in the evaluation process then becomes the major point at issue.

The first point at which this evaluation and standard-setting

process becomes operative is in the selection of staff. Here we have a responsibility to set forth minimum qualifications for the job to be done and to ascertain as nearly as possible whether the applicant can be expected to perform successfully. This like other evaluations can and should be a joint process in which the applicant participates, and if he is accepted the foundation is thus laid for future evaluation of his place as a worker in relation to the agency program. I believe that certain qualifications for the case work job of the private agency can be stated as follows:

1. Completion of a two-year graduate course in a school of social service with some emphasis on the understanding of human behavior and field work which gives experience in diagnosis and treatment of behavior and attitudes as well as the handling of practical and material services
2. Enough security in the worker's case work practice to assure his ability to carry a range of cases with such supervision as the agency has to offer, granting reasonable adequacy
3. Enough maturity to organize one's work, accept responsibility, and use and accept supervisory help
4. Personality free from gross difficulties that will have obvious bearing on the case work job

The agency has a responsibility to itself and to the worker to be assured of these or other basic minima. They may, and probably should be, ramified by the exigencies of a particular placement situation in which experience, special skills, ability to work under pressure, or with a minimum of supervision may be prerequisite to successful performance. It is recognized that this is an oversimplified statement as to the selection of staff and that the difficulties in making such judgments as to suitability are not small. However, at present we are much more likely to bemoan our difficulties than to exchange our thinking on this subject, and the question of criteria and the methodology of selection might well receive the same kind of formulated consideration that we have given to staff evaluations.

Both standards of selection and standards of performance are based on our understanding of the job to be done. Our evaluations following employment, therefore, will be based primarily

on how the worker is carrying out the job, with secondary recognition of what strengths and limitations she started with and what potentialities for growth she may have. I believe, however, that the case work job in a private agency asks certain things of even a "beginning worker" and that our interest in her development must be seen in relation to the needs of the clients. From this point of view, therefore, we will expect that all workers will be able to carry a case load within the minimum and maximum set by the agency, with some appropriate effort shown in every case. We will expect that dictation will be kept reasonably well up to date and that the administrative aspects of the case load will be handled responsibly; we will hold to certain expectations of diagnostic and treatment skills and will be alert to development of these areas. Granting that we can offer stimulation and guidance in our supervision we will expect our workers to know some ways of helping many different kinds of people, to recognize those cases where more skilled treatment is necessary and those where limited help or no help at all is possible. As a worker gains experience we will expect her to deal with a range of case situations with sensitivity and good judgment, to have some established techniques of interviewing and treatment, a sound orientation as to the function of the agency, and some beginning sense of leadership in community or agency activities.

At this point our expectations will become more flexible. Some workers will add to this basic skill only the solidifying strengths of experience; some will deepen and strengthen their skills toward that kind of therapeutic effort that we must recognize does not exist in all workers; some will develop the kind of leadership which fits them for supervision, teaching, or administration. If we have soundly evaluated basic requirements up to this point of diversification, however, we will have a staff whose subsequent development will give real strength to the agency.

One agency measures its staff members' production and helps them to achieve the standard of work expected of them by means of a specific method. This is a large, private family agency with several district offices and a staff of about sixty workers and twenty supervisors. It presents some different aspects of evaluation from

those of a smaller agency housed under one roof where the administrative and supervisory functions are closer together or may even be merged in one person.

This agency asks for a written evaluation of the case work staff, in connection with salary increases, every six months up to the maximum salary, and once a year thereafter. The first six months are probationary, and the first evaluation is therefore of especial significance. If there has been mutual consideration of fitness in the employment of the worker, the evaluation can be a continuation of that process, in which the worker's participation is diverted either toward furthering his integration into the agency or terminating his connection without total loss of self-esteem.

This evaluation is an established part of agency procedure which the worker is told about at the time of employment. At that time he is also given a statement of general employment practices and the "Suggested Guide for Evaluation of Workers," on which his evaluation will be based, and which may also serve to orient him to the expectations of the agency. This guide is divided into two sections: I. "Performance in the Area Defined by Personal Capacities"; and II. "Performance in the Area Defined by Agency Function." The first deals with qualities in the worker affecting case work performance, such as interest in people, awareness of, and sensitivity to, individual reactions, capacity to identify with the client, respect for personality, ability to handle one's own reactions, to think independently, to sustain effort, etc. This guide was formulated several years ago, and this section is open to the criticism that such abstract qualities do not lend themselves to objective evaluation. While this is valid criticism, we know that such qualities do become generalized in our own minds, if not on paper, but we realize that our judgment must be safeguarded with evidence as objective as possible. This problem of knowing how to generalize soundly from specific instances and how to use specific instances without distorting the emphasis is one which might bear further thought. It relates not only to the method, but to the clarity and objectivity of the evaluator. Its difficulties become most marked, perhaps, in this evaluation of the worker's qualities.

but since we cannot escape from this kind of judgment, we must learn to use the tool with finer discrimination.

Part II covers more specific performance, such as knowledge of the agency program and other community resources, participation in the total social work program, diagnosis and evaluation of case material in terms of possibilities for service, knowledge of interviewing techniques, control and planning of time and organization of work, handling of relief, recording, etc. This material amplifies and illustrates some of the points covered in the first section of the outline and points up actual performance in specific ways. The whole guide is used flexibly and not all items are necessarily covered in each evaluation.

This guide, although probably not the best in use today, covers the main points which appear on similar statements in agencies throughout the country. There seems to be little difference as to what attributes are to be evaluated, but how it is to be done and with what qualitative discrimination raises much more difficult and debatable points. To return to the worker who is finishing her probationary period in the agency, we would expect some demonstration of the qualities listed under the first section of the outline, or if there were obvious lacks we would want assurance that there was at least a latent capacity for development. For instance, the first evaluation of an intelligent, sensitive, well-trained young worker indicates considerable overactivity in planning for, and giving relief to, clients. Both she and the supervisor recognize this as a reaction to certain personal anxieties, and to the insecurity of her first job. Both from the development in her work and the fact of her recognition and seeking help in the problem we are reasonably assured that this difficulty is neither permanent nor deep-seated. On the other hand, another beginning worker evidences a need to control and direct clients but masks this fairly well under warm relationships and shows no awareness of herself in the situation. This worker presents more difficulties in that we must judge how best to help her come to grips with the problem herself, and also make some beginning evaluation of its meaning for her future performance in case work. It is not likely that this problem would immediately indicate that she would not

succeed in the agency, but some follow-through of this tendency in her case work is necessary as a part of her development and a safeguard to the work.

In a beginning worker we would also expect some, but not necessarily all, of the points covered under the second part of the outline to be evident in some degree. For instance, we would not expect full orientation to the agency or the community, but there should be some beginning of this. Neither would we expect much active interpretation of the agency except in collateral contacts on active cases. We would expect her to have a small case load in hand with some beginning direction in treatment and awareness of underlying attitudes and reactions. She might not have a full and effective control of relief practice but would show some awareness of its place in the total case work program.

This probationary evaluation is one of orientation and potentialities. The subsequent six-monthly evaluations should indicate specific gains in performance, development on weak points previously noted, and a statement of the kind of work being done at the time of evaluation. One outgrowth of our emphasis on development, and a weakness of systematic evaluations as well, is a tendency to indicate change rather than achievement, to say that a person is on the way to somewhere but not to say where on the way. A supervisor should, therefore, ask herself: What cases is the worker carrying adequately and what cases is she having trouble with? What kind of cases can be assigned with confidence? How much more skillful is the worker than she was six months ago? How much has she overcome a difficulty mentioned in the previous evaluation? It is easy to see slight gains, but to translate them into accomplished reality is another matter. It must be a supervisor's responsibility to do this, however, if we are to see a worker through her first few years in the agency without the risk of finding her some day quite inadequate to the demands of the job in spite of her own conscientious effort and our hopes.

When we come to the experienced worker who may be anxious to try supervision, special projects, or administrative responsibility, we must again formulate the requirements of the job to be done and determine how well fitted this person is to do it. The

worker who wishes to try supervision is the most common, and indeed the agency's exigencies may well demand that she be used in this way. We tend to assume that a worker who has learned to handle her own case load with skill and adequacy is capable of passing this knowledge on to another. Fortunately, many of the attributes of a successful worker are developed and translated in the supervisory job, but we must not assume that this is an automatic process if we are to offer the kind of supervision that will assure development in the next group of case workers. We must try to determine that the case worker has or can develop skill in transmitting the spirit and content of case work to another person, that he has some feeling for the growth and development of a younger colleague, and that he can take the responsibility which a position of leadership entails. This evaluation is often a difficult point for both the worker and the person evaluating him, because it comes with more impact against this possibility of promotion. Various forces such as seniority, the need for supervisory staff, and the pain of facing limitations push us toward giving the worker this additional responsibility. We must come to terms, however, with the fact that some excellent workers will not be able to supervise at the high level that our agency standards require, and that the case work job must be made intrinsically interesting and valuable to hold our experienced case workers. Nothing less than a frank facing of the strengths and limitations of the worker with real recognition given to a case work job well done can supply us with a stable staff of differentiated skills and abilities.

The question of evaluation of supervisory staff is the next logical step, but to my knowledge only a beginning has been made in setting up formal standards and procedures for that purpose.

Once the evaluation has been made, it is written by the supervisor and discussed with the worker, who may or may not read the evaluation but should know the full content. If she wishes, the worker may attach her own comments. This evaluation is then sent to the administrator in charge of personnel who at least once a year reads some of each worker's records and holds an evaluation conference with her. This procedure may seem somewhat formidable and certainly in a smaller agency might be greatly

simplified. Its value, however, is that in its final form the evaluation becomes something understood between the worker and the administration as to her strengths and limitations, her place in the agency, the basis on which she remains on the staff, is paid a given salary, or is asked to take additional responsibility. In addition, the subjective element in the supervisor's evaluation is at least partially safeguarded by a third person's active participation in the process.

Some question might be raised as to the overlapping or conflicting position of the supervisor and the executive in this process. It is true that often this conference is largely an affirmation of the supervisor's evaluation; it may, however, bring out new material or points of view about the worker in relation to the total agency, afford the worker opportunity to express disagreement or dissatisfaction, and it sometimes brings out differences of opinion about case material or procedures that must be handled in open discussion with both the supervisor and the worker. All of this requires frankness, objectivity, and willingness to accept differences, but it has values of greater understanding for the administrative staff, the supervisor, and the worker, and if problems of relationship emerge from it, it is because they exist anyway, and it is perhaps better that they be brought to light.

There is some thought in the field that salary increases and evaluations should be treated separately. It is my opinion that the two cannot be separated realistically. The judgment implicit in the evaluation must apply to consideration of promotion and salary increase and is the only sound basis for such decisions. Why, then, should we try to divorce the two? The argument is that the worker who is focused on getting her salary increase is not as free to use the evaluation process to further her own development. Perhaps this is true in some respects or with some workers, but the fact remains that in our culture the association of salary increase with good work is implicit and unavoidable, and I am inclined to think that the impetus to growth may come at least partially through this impact of external judgment and practical reality.

There is a growing shortage of adequate personnel which may

well threaten those standards that we have so arduously struggled to build up and maintain. At this point, neither the ultimate extent of the problem nor the final answers to it are clear. What is clear is that if we cannot get staff we either will have to cut down on the job or spread ourselves thin; if we get less-qualified staff we will have to do more in-service training and perhaps expect lesser results. In either circumstance, job definition and measurement of qualifications become doubly important. Perhaps, as in industry, we can do some sort of job breakdown, so that less-skilled people can do parts of the total skilled job and our most skilled people can be used where they are most effective. If it is possible to state with some clarity what kinds of work can be done by a person with less training or ability, we may be able to meet the problem with less danger to clients and less threat to optimum standards than if we muddle along without any attempt at redefinition.

If we cannot secure staff members equipped to do the intensive therapeutic job we have aimed for, it is better to face the fact frankly and do a simpler job as well as we can. The basic elements we must insist on are interest in, tolerance of, and willingness to help, people in trouble. After that we may have to redouble our efforts at skillful supervision, evaluation, assignment of case work staff, and job delineation. Whatever we do, it seems imperative that we gauge as accurately as possible the qualifications of the worker for the job and that there be a clear-cut understanding of this between the employer and the employee if we are to weather the stresses of the times without great losses to our clients and to the standards of the profession. We are all being stripped of nonessentials, we are all being pushed to find the real values of life. Perhaps it will not be all loss for case work to look within itself for that which must be preserved, and to find ways within the human limitations of its workers to carry on the essentials of its service.

PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS: THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE AGENCY

By FLORENCE SYTZ

APPROXIMATELY FIFTY YEARS AGO Anna L. Dawes and Mary E. Richmond were advocating the establishment of schools of social work. Both of these social workers took for granted that there should be a relationship between their proposed schools and the social agencies. Miss Dawes spoke of "some course of study . . ." and "some more immediately practical experience of the work likely to be required should also be given, some laboratory practice in the science of charity, if we may so speak."¹ Miss Richmond, in 1897, outlined a plan for a training school in which "vital connection . . . would of necessity be made with the public and private charities of the city. Here students could observe the actual work of charity, and take part in it under the daily supervision of their instructors. Theory and practice would go hand in hand. . . ."²

One year later the New York Charity Organization Society held a six weeks' training course. By 1904 this training program was extended to a full year's course, and the New York Charity Organization Society christened its offspring the New York School of Philanthropy. In Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and St. Louis social workers aided in the establishment of the schools that were

¹ Anna L. Dawes, "The Need of Training Schools for a New Profession," *Proceedings of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy* (Baltimore, 1893), p. 19.

² Mary E. Richmond, "The Need of a Training School in Applied Philanthropy," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Boston, 1897), pp. 185-86.

in existence by 1910. Not only did social workers help establish these schools but they often conducted certain courses. This relationship apparently went unchallenged until 1915 when Felix Frankfurter stated: "I believe social workers, to reach the professional level, must be guided by teachers not only of insight and possessed of scientific equipment, but teachers who give their whole time and thought to it."³ We tended to ignore this advice, and case work courses and field work continued largely to be agency prerogatives. In 1928 Edith Abbott outlined the fields of study essential for those who would be professional social workers. Although one of these fields, social treatment, was not new, Miss Abbott's conception of the content of the field was, and to this she added the field of public welfare administration, the field of social research, the field of law and government, the field of social economics and politics, including social insurance and the history of social experimentation. These fields, as Miss Abbott pointed out,

represent only the academic side of our program. There is another side of equal importance and that is what is usually called field work. . . . The provision of adequate field work and its educational organization is the most difficult and most unique side of our work. . . . Our great problem has been, and still is, to make field work truly educational. Its importance is accepted by all of us; but few attempts have been made to analyze carefully its educational content and the methods of securing proper educational results.⁴

The importance to the profession of schools of social work establishing and maintaining a thorough course of study worthy of academic recognition and broad enough to be basic for all professional practitioners must even today be interpreted and reinterpreted to those practitioners whose view of the preparation necessary for their profession is limited to a series of case work, group work, field work, and psychiatric courses, the latter, of course, of the "correct" school of thought. In 1897 Mary E. Richmond was telling us that,

³ Felix Frankfurter, "Social Work and Professional Training," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago, 1915), p. 595.

⁴ Edith Abbott, *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (Chicago, 1931), chap. 3, pp. 56-57.

an experienced worker has written to me that a difficulty in the way of a school of applied philanthropy on a sufficiently broad and inclusive basis would be the fact that our charity work has become so highly specialized. This is true, but our specialization is often essentially false. It is still as erratic as the specialization of the barber who pulls teeth. In the division of modern medicine into many special departments we find few such anomalies. We find, moreover, a broad field of knowledge which is common ground. . . . What an incalculable gain to humanity when those who are doctoring social diseases in many departments of charitable work shall have found a common ground of agreement, and be forced to recognize certain established principles as underlying all effective service.⁵

The American Association of Schools of Social Work found such a tentative ground of agreement when the schools formulated what is known as the basic minimum first year curriculum. The schools named the courses. Committees of the American Association of Schools of Social Work are now studying their content. Although all schools of social work have had from their beginning case work and field work courses I believe that it is no exaggeration to say that these courses are today still the least standardized of all the courses in the curriculum.

Schools and agencies have always coöperated. Whatever trouble there has been has largely sprung, I believe, from our lapses of memory, when we forgot to remind one another that we really had mapped out, in 1897, our aim, namely, that of building a profession recognizable as a group of persons whose basic education had been obtained in professional schools of social work. We have said many times and in many different ways that admission to our professional group should be on the basis of whether a certain body of knowledge and skills had been acquired, and the ability of the prospective practitioner to apply this knowledge had been tested and approved by qualified examiners or in properly accredited professional schools.

It has been estimated that all the social workers now registered on the National Roster will be needed for wartime services. Both public and private social agencies are losing professional personnel to these services. The college graduate with no professional

⁵ Richmond, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

education will undoubtedly be employed by many of these agencies. Unless joint efforts are made by the schools, by the agencies, by the professional practitioners, by our state and Federal governments, to make it possible, desirable, and necessary for these untrained practitioners to obtain at least a minimum amount of professional education they will have to learn much too much at the expense of the poor. The services they can render to clients will be far below any desirable minimum standard. There is, therefore, an ethical obligation equally binding both on the schools and on the agencies to protect clients against the grosser manifestations of this form of exploitation. This is the first problem we face in any discussion today of the professional relations between the school and the agency used for field work instruction. It is the first problem because of the fact that schools must have students in order to have a professional relationship with agencies. The "Report on Students in Schools of Social Work, November 1, 1941,"⁶ bears out this statement. The enrollment of all full-time graduate students majoring in social work as of November 1, 1941, indicates only seven schools in the group of thirty-eight with a full-time enrollment of ninety or more students (Chicago, 333; New York, 274; Western Reserve, 170; Atlanta, 130; Tulane, ninety-eight; Pennsylvania and Fordham each ninety). In twenty of the thirty-eight accredited schools the enrollment of full-time graduate students was less than fifty. There is need for joint activity on the part of the schools and social agencies in the recruiting of students; in working out ways of increasing the limited budgets of the schools; and in increasing the number of field work places available to the schools.

We have never questioned the importance in the curriculum of case work courses and field work. One or more of the case work courses in each school of social work are today taught by full-time members of the faculty. In a few schools full-time instructors are also directly responsible for some of the field work teaching. The limited budgets of professional schools of social work and the costliness of field work instruction have made it impossible for some schools to employ teachers of field work courses; other

⁶ American Association of Schools of Social Work, *Newsletter*, December 1, 1941.

schools have believed it unsound to employ such instructors, preferring to leave field work as a bit of agency experience under the relatively slight control of the educational institution. There has also been the tacit assumption that a good practitioner is *ipso facto* a good teacher; that case workers or group workers, because they practice in these fields, know what should be taught in schools of social work; and that methods applicable to practice are the teaching methods to be used if proper educational results are to be obtained. Field work has often escaped the rigorous scrutiny given to other courses due to the dependence of schools on social agencies for the provision of field work units and instructors or supervisors, and to the difficulties involved in distinguishing between practice in an agency or learning on the job and "field work planned for the benefit of the student in the light of educational principles." There has, moreover, existed a difference of opinion among school instructors as well as among practitioners as to the desirability of defining content in field work courses. This is evidenced by those who talk and write about field work objectives primarily in terms of changing student attitudes, and in the evaluation of the student's work in terms of his "individual growth" rather than in relation to his ability to learn to put into appropriate action those services essential to meet the client's need. Furthermore, a review of the literature on social case work and on social group work will reveal the chaos in theory that exists, and a review of practice as shown in agency records will convince even the most skeptical that our "art" may range all the way from early primitives to surrealism. Our "occupational psychosis" has inclined us toward the belief that the selection of the scope and content of case work, group work, and field work courses is, and should be, a matter left largely to the individual instructor. Our ability to use and to misuse technical terms from other professions, coupled with our failure to translate many of the words in our professional vocabulary into verifiable meanings, often makes it difficult, if not impossible, for us to understand one another.

There are undoubtedly additional reasons that explain our retardation in outlining and teaching specific content in field work

courses, but these are sufficient to indicate the general aspects of the problem any school of social work faces when it sets itself the task of making field work truly educational. In any consideration of the professional relations between a school and the social agency used for field work instruction the objective of the relationship is one of our primary concerns. The relationship between the school and the agency is not an end in itself. Nor is the primary objective fulfilled when the school obtains the necessary field work places in agencies. The relationship exists primarily as a means whereby the school and the agency join in an attempt to teach the student a definable portion of what he needs to know and to be able to do.

In order to perform the necessary services the student must have and be able to use the knowledge and skills that are pertinent to the understanding and helping of an individual with a problem. The fact that the student may be preparing to practice group work rather than case work does not, in my opinion, necessitate any fundamental change in this statement of the objectives of field work. The bold character of this generalized statement of field work objectives becomes apparent when we recall those not-too-far-distant days in which our field work objectives seemed often to be based on the assumption that students, like clients, came to social agencies because they had problems and that the primary purpose of field work was to help the student solve his personal difficulties. It was not too difficult to find an "attitude" that was believed to be standing in the way of the student's giving adequate service to clients. In our attempts to remove this attitude we often found ourselves at the end of the semester with a sheaf of notes covering the treatment of the student rather than the performance of the student in relation to his clients. It has been, and remains, oftentimes difficult to draw this distinction between treatment and professional education in social work. Not only is it a difficult distinction to make, but it is an equally difficult distinction to have accepted. That it is an important distinction becomes apparent as soon as we recast our field work objectives in educational terms. One advantage in this recasting is that through focusing our attention on the content of the field work

courses we will then be able to identify more clearly the problems that interfere with the learning process, and to deal with these in a more adequate and helpful manner.

The identification of problems awaiting solution if field work is to become truly educational, along with a statement emphasizing the educational objectives of field work, is but the first step. We must now ask ourselves if we are in essential agreement that field work courses, like all other courses in the school curriculum, should have content, sequence, and progression of material. Our differences must be discussed and sufficiently reconciled to enable agency and school to go on together, for neither can advance without the other. After we have sufficiently reconciled any differences we may have regarding any general or specific statement of problems and objectives we must then ask ourselves whose major responsibility it is to take the leadership in the formulation of the methods of attack on the problems. Can this responsibility be left with the practitioner who may also be supervising students for a school of social work? She never had sufficient time and thought to spare for these problems in the past. The client is, and must remain, her major focus of interest. This is not to deny her competence as an agency or school supervisor, but it is a frank, if none too discreet, questioning of her ability to assume a position of leadership in the matter of defining the educational content of field work. Although it is not possible to be a competent instructor in a school of social work if one is uninformed about the various fields of practice, it is possible to be a competent practitioner in an agency even though one is uninformed about educational method and the problems of schools of social work. Again this is not a simple problem, for we find that schools of social work have been loath to undertake the major responsibility for defining the content of their field work courses. This is indicated by the fact that although field work has always been accepted as an integral part of the curriculum, it occupies in contrast to other courses an anomalous position. The variation in the schools in the amount of time and credit given for field work, the amounts allocated or not allocated in school budgets for this instruction, the qualifications of field work teachers, the giving or withhold-

ing of academic status to such instructors are evidence of the undefined or not clearly defined position of field work and its instructional staff.

If schools of social work are to assume a position of leadership in defining the content of field work courses I would suggest that they need to have a portion of their full-time faculty engaged in field work teaching. To these should be added a group of part-time agency supervisors. The qualifications of these part-time supervisors or instructors should be such as will make them eligible for appointments on university faculties. If we have any conviction about professional social work, then professional education is something supervisors or instructors should have as well as students. The relationship of the school to the agency used as a field work center should be such that the agency will accord supervisory status to the full-time faculty field work instructors whom the school places in the agency for the purpose of field work teaching. Both full-time and part-time agency instructors should be clearly responsible to the agency for observing agency policy and to a designated person on the school faculty in relation to all matters concerning the content of the field work courses and the methods of instruction. The administrative arrangements between the school and the agency and between the school and the field work instructors become significant as soon as we think of field work in terms of courses having unity, content, and sequence, planned for the benefit of the student in the light of educational principles.

The Tulane University School of Social Work is engaging in an experiment. There is a group of full-time and part-time field work instructors. These instructors are working on the problem of defining the content in the field work courses. A review of the field work reports covering the work of the students indicated many possible variations in what was being taught and expected of the student by different supervisors. We decided to formulate an outline covering the minimum, or basic, content each field work course should have. To this basic outline would be added what might be called the "plus" contributed by specialized fields such as, for example, medical social work and child welfare.

Since there are so many things that we wish a student to learn, and since many field work instructors or supervisors are inclined to try to teach a student everything they know in one semester, and failing in this to insist that the student should remain with them for at least two semesters, it is not surprising to discover in this so-called minimum outline of basic content many of the attributes of a maximum outline, or a picture of a full-fledged practitioner with years of experience. The value of this attempt to formulate a basic minimum outline of content rests, in part, in this discovery; for this outline emphasized, as had none of our previous guides in evaluating the field work of the student, the obstacles in the way of our obtaining the necessary sequence of material in these courses. The agreed-upon material that must be taught and retaught is an aid in gaining the essential unity that holds together any group of field work courses; the need to limit the content in each of our three courses, to think and plan in terms of courses having definite time limits, is a step in the direction of obtaining a sequence of course material. This so-called basic outline was formulated by a committee made up of full-time field work and classroom instructors. It was then submitted to the entire group of field work instructors for their comments and suggestions.

The group discussion of several of the points in the outline indicated that these points needed to be developed in more detail if we were to be able to spot our essential points of agreement and difference. Our responsibility to the student, the limitation in the number of meetings we could have, demanded a method that would not be wasteful of the time at our disposal. From past experience we were aware of the limited accomplishment possible through meetings in which experience is simply shared or in which those present attempt to relate themselves to a list of topics on an agenda. Such meetings net some gains, but all too often the discussion wanders down interesting bypaths due to the rich associative processes of the participants. We therefore decided to prepare memoranda covering a detailed presentation and discussion of the points in question, and to send the prepared statements to the instructors prior to the meeting at which the material was to

be discussed. The full-time faculty engaged in classroom and/or field work teaching prepared this material. Memoranda have been prepared covering certain points raised in relation to the statement in the outline on relief as a case work service; on ethics; on criteria for determining psychological evidence; on client-worker relationship; as well as on the questions raised by emphasizing "performance" rather than "progress" in the grading of students in the field work courses. The memoranda that have been presented to the total group of instructors have indicated the importance of the written statement as an aid in focusing discussion and in translating our professional vocabulary into verifiable meanings.

In a real sense this was no new plan, for we send material to field work instructors covering the content of certain of the classroom courses, as well as other material considered useful in field work teaching. We have prepared such memoranda covering material that is taught in the classroom which we assume is, or will be, also taught and practiced in the field. This assumption makes it necessary for the field work instructors to call to our attention any questions or differences of opinion they may have in relation to the material in order that we may, as quickly as possible, explore our differences and agree upon any essential changes. Differences of opinion may be in relation to the content itself, or to the place where the content is best taught, i.e., in the field, in the classroom, or in both places.

It is, of course, no simple task to prepare a memorandum in which the topic under consideration is explored as thoroughly as is necessary and as competently as is possible, and presented in a clear, interesting, and provocative fashion. In the preparation of such material it is helpful to remember that material, if it is to be understood, taught, and used in practice, must have contact with reality. We believe that the procedure we have outlined is important in that it helps insure the student against a too heavy dose of educational confusion. We are not suggesting that students be protected against the knowledge that there are unsolved problems in social work and in social work practice, or that there are differences in theory and in practice. We are simply attempt-

ing to formulate and to teach a substantial core of agreed-upon content in our classroom and field work courses. There will never be anything static about this agreed-upon content, but we believe it necessary to have such a core against which to consider change if the changes we make are to be educationally rational.

Whatever merit there may be in this illustration from the Tulane University School of Social Work lies not, at this time, in any outstanding accomplishments of the plan, but rather in the fact that those engaged in field instruction are attempting to identify as precisely as possible the problems that are preventing them from defining the educational content of field work in order to formulate appropriate methods of attack on these problems. We have recognized the need for a more conscious planning of field work if field work is to net for the student the gains we have so often attributed to it.

Although social agencies and schools of social work come together in order to provide field work for students it does not automatically follow that this working together will result in field work courses of the maximum amount of benefit to the student. When, in the past, we became aware of this we tended to seek a solution through increasing the amount of time or the number of hours allocated to field work instruction. Increasing the amount of time was often a substitute activity which enabled us to avoid, at least for the time being, the more difficult and more important task of determining what should be taught in these courses, as well as the more exact determination of the amount of time it requires, if appropriate educational methods are used, to teach the student any definable portion of field work content for which a school of social work is responsible. Since there is a limit to the amount of time students can devote to professional education, the waste to the student that is involved in this substitute activity is becoming increasingly apparent. Increasing the amount of time spent in field work, without a careful determination of what is taught and what is accomplished in this time, will not solve our essential difficulties. Furthermore, any list of current field work problems as well as any discussion of these problems will serve to indicate that they cannot be solved

automatically or through the mere verbalizing of field work objectives or goals. It is only through the conscious planning, use, and testing of methods of attack on these problems that rapid progress will be achieved.

Such planning makes heavy demands on the resourcefulness and intellectual ability of the participants. There will be a certain amount of "collective learning through trial and error; and no plan can be theoretically correct in the sense that it can anticipate everything." However, not to plan is to remain contented if one has caught no glimpse of the unsolved problems in field work, and frustrated if one has and agrees with Edith Abbott that our "great problem has been, and still is, to make field work truly educational." Should there be any schools and agencies that are placidly contented with the field work instruction they are jointly providing for students, I would hazard the opinion that their contentment will soon be disrupted by their students, who will join with those who are demanding that field work courses, like other courses in the curriculum, should have content, sequence, and progression of material, and that those engaged in field work teaching should analyze carefully the educational content of this teaching as well as the methods of securing proper educational results. For if the relationship between the school and the social agency used for field work instruction is to emerge from the period of "rugged individualism" and to become a professional relationship, then both must work together on the formulation and conscious testing of plans designed to define and to increase the content of the field work courses. Difficult as this task is, our responsibility to the students who will be the practitioners of the future, and to the clients they will serve, demands no less from all of us who are engaged in any portion of the job of professional education.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF MERIT SYSTEMS AND THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC WELFARE PERSONNEL

By DOROTHY LALLY

PROBLEMS OF PERSONNEL are no new experience for most public welfare agencies. It probably can be fairly said that the field of public welfare has over the past ten years met and at least partially solved more major personnel situations than any of the other professional fields within a similar span. Each year we have gathered to discuss current problems of staff selection, training, and management. At no time has the operating agency or the merit system experienced smooth sailing in all these areas. Looking back, it is interesting to observe the significant relationship which appears to exist between the emergence of problems and the subsequent consistent, steady development of standards to serve as a common guide to agencies in the handling of these problems.

Effective merit system administration is peculiarly dependent upon progress in the area of standard setting. On the one hand, standards must be continually evolved by the personnel expert for technical aspects of testing, rating of training and experience, and validating results of examinations. On the other hand, effective selection of personnel becomes possible only as the professional group (in the operating agency) takes positive responsibility for developing those basic standards of administration and service which in turn will determine the number, qualifications, and placement of personnel needed in the program. Considerable progress has been made in defining standards for some phases

of the work, but because the scope of the public welfare program has been extensive and each area has presented its own complexities, it has not been possible simultaneously to develop standards for all significant aspects of administration.

The idea of defining standards of performance is not new, either in industry or in social work. As long as there have been well-organized social work agencies with any pretense to a good service program, there has been interest in good standards of performance. Social work education as well as training within agencies has always had as its objective good staff performance. However, with the advent of the merit system and the need for systematizing our knowledge of all significant aspects of administration which bear a close relationship to personnel selection and management, agencies have become conscious of the need to define more specifically what is meant by good staff performance and to begin formulating standards of performance.

It may be well to clarify what we mean by the word "standard." In general we believe standards to be measurements, and specifically with regard to public welfare we think they are criteria by which certain significant aspects of administration may be measured. There has already been considerable work done in formulating standards of assistance, for example, to cover the descriptive statements regarding quality and kind of goods and services needed by people, and to describe desirable procedures to be used in identifying individual and family requirements and in evaluating their resources. Some attempt has also been made to explore and set down standards in such other areas as supervision and case recording. In working on standards of performance, agencies seem to be thinking of them as a guide—statements describing the kind of performance, both from the qualitative and the quantitative aspects which the agency would like the staff to achieve. The potential use of defined standards is limitless if we are willing to face, along with the values, some of the hard work which inevitably accompanies the setting down of specific, well-formulated concepts rather than referring vaguely to good standards of administration.

While standards are essentially measures, their basic use is as

a guide to better administration. Measuring any aspect of the work has little inherent value unless the agency follows through on a continuing basis to make needed improvements. Agencies find standards of performance immediately useful in daily supervision in helping staff members improve their performance. Likewise, as a standard of measurement at the time of periodic evaluation, they represent an objective agency-wide guide by which individual service can be evaluated.

Several state public agencies, convinced of the need for crystalizing agency standards of performance, have undertaken such work and made considerable progress in the past two years. The first approach in almost every instance was some exploration of the idea with division heads and field staff. Reaction of the counties too was frequently sought. When sufficient interest had been aroused and the real need recognized, the agency planned for the specific activities involved in actual development of the standards. Each state public welfare agency began with the visitor's job and turned its attention immediately to clarifying the statement of job duties. Because the job responsibilities of public welfare workers have undergone some change in the past few years, it was considered desirable in most instances to revise, for purposes of the project, the statement of job duties. Even where job descriptions in the specifications were up to date, it seemed desirable to review with the staff the meaning of these statements so that work might proceed with a uniform understanding of the scope and exact nature of duties as related to a particular classification. The process of reviewing and revising specifications in itself proved developmental to both state and local staffs, and part of this seemed to be due to the newer emphasis on service in many of the public welfare programs. For instance, some agencies that had formerly limited the function of the case worker to determining need and assistance planning are now broadening their concept of the job to include rehabilitative service. This changing philosophy of welfare service immediately affects the extent of the local visitor's job. Some employees who had come with the agency during a period of unusual pressures, had through lack of sufficiently effective orientation and supervision, never

been too clear about all their job duties and tended to overlook some parts of the job, particularly those in which they were less skilled. Such workers gained new insight into their responsibilities as an opportunity was given for clarification of duties.

When the agencies have been satisfied that job responsibility has been clearly defined and is up to date, actual work on standards has begun to take shape. The process itself has varied considerably from one state agency to another and undoubtedly this is desirable, particularly in the experimental stage. The objective in each instance, however, has been to identify the major factors in performance of the visitor's job—that is, significant elements of the job expressed in terms of performance. The standards have then been written around these elements in performance. Agencies have found that it facilitated progress to break down the job into certain logical divisions. For the visitor these might be such major headings as "Organization of Work," "Study of Eligibility," "Case Analysis and Planning," "Recording," and "Use of Supervision." Taking one section at a time the personnel are able to suggest, with or without the help of the technician, the significant elements in performance which seem to fall under each main heading. For example, under the section "Organization of Work," an important element would be "planning visiting schedule." The standard for the performance of such an element might read somewhat as follows:

Schedule of visits is based on the following considerations: planned service with regard to the individual case, geographical factors, and agency policy regarding case coverage (investigation of pending applications and periodic review of active cases).

Any system of personnel selection rests to an important degree on the ability of the operating agency to define the kind of personnel needed. If the agency is unable to speak with assurance on this point, surely the personnel expert cannot be blamed if the operating agency is not satisfied through the selection process. Lack of specific information and agreement as to what constitutes the content of the job in terms of the quality of performance have made it difficult to be definite as to essential qualifications.

Qualifying experience has included a wide range of fields, some with no close relation to the public welfare job. "Required" education has presented much the same picture, with little uniformity among operating agencies as to the need for a certain level of general education and the desirability of specialized training which would equip the individual, particularly for positions of more responsibility.

A statement of the quality of performance which the agency considers desirable can serve to improve selection of staff in two directions. In the first place, defined standards can be used to interpret to agency boards and public officials the need for a well-qualified staff. It has not always been easy to convince officials that the public welfare job required a well-educated staff, and we have frequently been insufficiently concrete in our descriptions of the work to convince the inquirer of the complexities involved in effective assistance administration. Interpreting more specifically the content of the job serves to deepen the official's understanding of the agency's work and thus equips him as a more effective participant, particularly in community relations.

Becoming more articulate and specific with regard to standards of performance immediately suggests another use of standards in personnel selection. Describing the quality of performance which we wish to see each worker achieve does suggest to the competent person, both in the operating agency and in the personnel unit, the particular fields of knowledge and the skills which the employee will need in order to achieve the desired level of performance. The Bureau of Public Assistance has already begun such an analysis of the knowledge and skills required of public welfare workers. In this project we have studied and used as a base considerable material from public assistance agencies in fairly representative states. After some study it became apparent that for an individual public welfare visitor to carry the service asked, it was necessary for her to have a mastery of several different fields of knowledge as well as specific skills which seem to fall in the following groups: (1) skill in administering a service to individuals; (2) skill in agency organization to facilitate the

service; and (3) skill in utilizing and developing a community welfare program.

Where the worker lacks certain required knowledge and skills, it is apparent that his service to the client will be much less adequate than the agency wishes; for instance, practically every agency wants the local visitor to gain a thorough understanding of an applicant's situation and to determine a plan on the basis of information secured. The local visitor needs skill in observation, in interviewing, in an individualized approach to people, in establishing a relationship of confidence between client and agency, in identifying as needs both those which the client specifies and those which are implied. He likewise needs skill in exploration of resources, in appraising resources, and in examination of written evidence; he must know how to evaluate quickly an individual's situation, both the economic and social factors; he must be able readily to relate a community resource to observed needs. These skills operate most effectively against a background of subject matter such as knowledge of human needs and behavior, of methods of social case study, of standards in administration of social agencies, of legislation under which the agency and other related organizations operate.

If the operating agency, then, can thus clearly see the essential fields of knowledge and the skills, it can interpret to the merit system council those qualifications which are necessary in order to administer the program according to established standards. In addition, therefore, to helping specifically with establishing standards for entrance requirements, the merit system should be materially helped in developing the right type of examination process to test for such required knowledge and skills. Examinations of any kind cannot be thoroughly satisfactory unless those preparing the test have assurance that they are testing for those capacities and abilities definitely needed for the position for which the applicant is attempting to qualify. In other words, the duties of the job, the required knowledge and skills, and the content of the examination should be consistently related to each other and all based on information as to the performance expected in relation to a particular classification.

Out of the considerable experience state agencies have already had with the development of performance standards, certain trends and problems emerge. There has been positive satisfaction experienced as the result of clarification of job responsibility both as to specific function and to the quality of actual work performance. New staff members and old have responded to this opportunity to participate in an analysis of their jobs and in setting standards for their own performance. While the significance of the project was partly responsible, the attitude of each agency in consistently planning this work as part of its staff development program has undoubtedly been a determining factor in stimulating and maintaining staff interest. Those state agencies which have drawn in the county staffs fairly early in the process have, in many instances, found that such discussion strengthened state-county relations as field staff and local staff reached a common understanding as to desirable standards of performance. This emphasis on staff participation does not ignore the need for strong leadership in defining performance standards, but total staff participation at some stage of the work is highly desirable. At some point, each employee will be expected to have a complete understanding of the performance standards for his own position. Participating in the development of such statements will not only stimulate his interest and understanding, but should make for substantial improvement in his immediate performance. Where the size of the program prevents participation of the local staff in the early stages of the work, draft statements have been developed by state or state-local committees and are then used as a basis for discussion groups on regional and county levels, so that the final standards represent the best thinking of the total agency.

In the beginning stages of work in a number of agencies, some question has been raised as to the desirability of the same standards of performance for rural and urban positions. In general, through discussion, it has appeared that where urban and rural workers carry essentially the same responsibilities, the same quality of performance has been expected. For example, both rural and urban workers are expected to use effectively the community and state-wide resources at their command in the interest of the

individual client. While the urban worker usually has many more resources, this does not change the standard with regard to intelligent, skilled use of whatever resources are available.

Other questions which have arisen have related to such problems as: "Is it essential to develop a separate statement of standards of performance for every classification?" As we indicated earlier, effective standards of performance must be closely related directly to job responsibility. Therefore, it would seem difficult to develop a single statement of standards of performance which would apply to positions carrying widely varying duties. There are positions, however, in which the variations in job duties are so slight that one statement of standards can be used. One state has developed a statement on standards of performance for the basic duties of public welfare case workers. In this particular state, in a number of counties, case workers likewise handle the intake work in the county office. The agency in developing the standards for case worker simply added standards of performance to cover the work at the application desk. This policy has been followed in a number of agencies where the basic duties of certain jobs were the same, but where there was some variation in a few duties.

Another problem has emerged, pertaining to the time which agencies have allowed for the development of standards. Because of the desire to have agency standards developed by the time the periodic ratings are due, some departments have attempted to work very rapidly on such materials. The results in some instances have been disappointing. Developing staff understanding and acceptance of performance standards is far more important administratively than "jamming through" some material to be used in evaluation by a staff unprepared to make effective use of it. Standards developed undemocratically—without staff participation and acceptance—are almost useless because they cannot be intelligently applied. Agencies having any experience in this field will probably testify that setting unreasonable deadlines is a profitless approach in this kind of project. What is needed, of course, is a workable plan which allows opportunity for sufficient staff discussion.

One of the factors which has given tremendous impetus to the development of standards of performance is the recognized need to have some guide by which individual employee's service may be evaluated. Standards of performance in some form have been used for many years as a basis for supervision and evaluation. As supervisors have helped individual workers to improve their work, they have continuously borne in mind "a good standard" which they were gradually helping the employee to achieve. As agencies have become more articulate and specific about the quality of performance which they desired, supervisors have been substantially helped, for both they and the staff develop a common understanding of the objective of supervision. This does not mean that every employee will in every respect approximate the defined standards of performance. The progress of each worker will be determined by his own capacity and by the skill with which his supervisor helps him develop it. The defined standards, however, direct both supervisor and employee to an awareness of the total job content and help the agency to plan supervision more effectively in relation to every aspect of worker performance.

Agency standards need to be utilized throughout the year in the process of regular supervision. They are particularly useful throughout the probationary period to strengthen the supervision of new employees. When a well-understood standard is thus utilized on a day-by-day basis, by the end of the probationary period the new worker should have received help on each important aspect of the job. The agency is, therefore, better prepared to evaluate the new employee's first period of service and his capacity for growth in relation to the supervision made available to him. Staff evaluation of both old and new employees is fraught with many difficulties. Thorough knowledge of each employee's performance as well as a clear understanding of what the agency desires in terms of performance are main considerations in this evaluation process.

Many of the procedures which are now used to secure accurate ratings may be unnecessary if the agency goes to the root of the trouble and develops a uniform standard for each position. It is

not to be supposed that a statement of standards of performance will in itself be a guarantee of accurate evaluation. However, if it is developed through good staff participation and is accepted and understood by a large part of the staff, both raters and those being rated, there is less likelihood of serious misunderstanding with regard to what the agency expects of employees.

Particularly at this time when our welfare agencies are being asked to assume increasing responsibility for wartime services and postwar planning, it behooves us to go on record as to the quality of staff performance we consider essential to the administration of a good public welfare program. If we agree that performance of staff is a vital aspect of administration, of immediate concern to all agencies, surely there is some obligation upon us to define what we mean by "good performance." The merit systems, the schools of social work, and other professional groups are constantly making inquiry as to the content and quality of the public welfare job. The merit system says, in effect, "Describe good performance on the job and we'll develop techniques to search out individuals who have the needed skill." The responsibility, therefore, rests squarely on the professional group in the operating agency to lay the foundation for sound personnel selection by developing standards for skilled performance on the job.

SOME UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

By *HELEN LELAND WITMER*

RESEARCH IS OFTEN IDENTIFIED with the use of statistical methods and mathematical calculations. These, however, are but tools, at times appropriate to the problem at hand and at times not at all pertinent. Research itself consists of bringing reason to bear upon either the crude facts of existence or the refined concepts to which natural phenomena are reduced by scientists. To use John Dewey's term, research is inquiry. Research, accordingly, is one of the chief means by which decisions in regard to action are reached and knowledge itself forwarded.

It is thus clear that social workers do engage in research. Much of their research, however, has to do with judging, as Dewey says, "the significance of things and events with reference to what should be done about them." Inquiries of this nature are classified by logicians under the heading of common-sense investigations and are characterized by the fact that they have to do with situations that are qualitative and existential. In other words, their subject matter is a total, real situation, unique in its never-to-be repeated combination of elements. Case workers will recognize in that description one of their cherished postulates about cases and one of their prime arguments against undertaking research in their own field of practice. Nevertheless, it is obvious that action always takes place in such unique situations; and action depends upon inquiry (the consideration of the results of possible alternative actions) unless it is an automatic response or one that depends upon authority for its direction.

The problem before case workers, however, is how to move from this area of common-sense investigations of individual case situations to one in which wider generalizations can be made. This removal has already been partially accomplished, for in the course of their work case workers have amassed considerable information about human beings and about the methods by which social work can be of use to them. This information, stated in generalized form, exists independent of immediate application and is deemed valid for use in many case situations regardless of their individual differences. For the most part, however, even these case work principles are of a common-sense nature; that is, they have reference to real situations and are not concerned with interrelationships among abstract concepts. Since each real situation is unique, logical evaluation and criticism of the principles are handicapped, and the scientific advancement of case work is deterred.

What is required is the development of a method by which there can be searched out from the peculiarities of individual cases the elements they have in common, a method that will concentrate attention upon factors that are relevant to case work with individual clients and yet will avoid the peculiarities of their individual expression. The result would be a body of concepts about case work and of principles regarding their interrelationships that would constitute a science. Case work has need of such a scientific base from which to judge the validity of proposed changes in policy and practice and to further knowledge.

If it is objected that case work deals with matters that are too intangible and too individual to permit such a development and that it would not profit from having a scientific substructure of its own, reference to what has happened in the field of dynamic psychiatry is enlightening. There the basic inquiries moved away from the complexity of total case situations to concentrate upon certain of their aspects. Instead of an array of individual patients there was substituted, first, the concept of neurosis, the elements and variations of which were then carefully analyzed, classified, and defined. In the process of studying neuroses, numerous new concepts were introduced—which represented abstractions from the myriad-form behavior of actual human beings. Hypotheses

about the relations of these concepts were tested by reference to the behavior of individual patients. In pursuing this typically scientific research, theorists and practitioners did not hesitate to classify and categorize, to comprehend under abstract terms behavior that was ever shifting and variable. To do so required an unusually high order of scientific imagination, but it was only thus that the vast complexity and variability of this one aspect of human behavior was made subject to study, prediction and, in a certain sense, control.

Such a body of concepts and of principles regarding natural phenomena is what is meant by a science; and inquiry into the problems that grow out of it constitutes scientific research. Such research obtains its data from individual cases but it does not attempt to comprehend the cases in their totality and uniqueness.

It seems to me that the key to why social workers tend to be averse to research, considering it too abstract and too remote from their main interests, is that social work relies largely on other disciplines for its scientific base. This also explains why research is set aside as one division of social work instead of being pursued by workers in each field, and also why research in social work is usually delegated to outside specialists. This situation is peculiar to social work. Research in medicine and law and engineering is carried on largely by individuals who are highly trained in those professions, and it is directed to the solving of problems that, although they are encountered in everyday practice, can be stated in abstract terms.

To come to this conclusion is not to indict case work. All professions started with common-sense investigations and progressed far with the generalizations that followed from them. Each profession, however, comes to the point where it needs more exact knowledge, more precise control over its instruments and techniques than common-sense inquiries provide. It needs to know, not only that certain results follow certain actions, but under what conditions, and why. When this point is reached, the profession is forced to consider its concepts more carefully and to utilize the methods of science for advancing its knowledge. There is much evidence that case work has come to this point in its de-

velopment, and it is to be expected, therefore, that case workers will take an increasing interest in scientific research, will themselves engage in it, and will recognize that its function is to further their control over their own professional activities.

Research is not likely to be fruitful when engaged in merely for the satisfaction of idle curiosity or for the attainment of prestige. Rather, its value depends upon its being called into play because some important question demands an answer. The purpose of research is to remove doubt. The first step, therefore, in any investigation is to make explicit what it is you want to know. It is not sufficient to indicate a general area of interest. It will not do to say, "I want to study adopted children," for example; or, "I want to find out about our intake"; or even, "I want to study the cases in which the husband deserts his wife when she is pregnant." Such statements may indicate that interest in a subject has been aroused, but they give the investigator no leads as to what to look for. It must be made clear what one wants to find out.

Suppose a child-guidance clinic has tried to interpret its program to the public through a series of newspaper articles, and the question of the value of such a procedure is raised.¹ Now this is surely an example of what Dewey calls an indeterminate situation. The first step in instituting an inquiry into it consists in being explicit about what the agency wants to discover. Does it want to know whether applications have increased by reason of this publicity? Is it puzzled about the kind of applications the feature articles attracted? Is it the effect on the general public's interest in its work, as indicated by financial contributions, that interests the clinic? It is obvious that further questions depend upon which of these general aspects of the total problem have aroused the chief concern.

Suppose it is agreed that the aspect of the situation most important to clarify at the moment is that which has to do with the

¹ This is a problem investigated by Frances Vaughan, *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, Vol. XI (June, 1942). While Miss Vaughan's analysis was not carried out wholly in the manner described below, readers who want to see concretely what can be learned from applying the general method of procedure advocated in this paper may find her report (as well as others reported in that journal) helpful.

effect on intake. With that much settled, the usual research worker will go gaily ahead, and later the clinic staff will be told that applications went up by such and such a percentage, that the proportion of girls, of young children, of bright children, increased, and so on—all objective data and interesting, in a remote kind of way, but not important to the practicing case worker. In short, such information does not remove the doubt, does not get at the heart of the puzzle which led to the investigation.

One must not be too quick to blame the research worker. The difficulty lies in the fact that the problem was not clarified originally, so the research proceeded along conventional lines rather than those specifically dictated by the problem to be solved. This framing of the problem in explicit terms is the most important step in any inquiry. It is usually greatly aided by asking: Why is it important to answer the proposed question? Here, for instance, we wanted to discover the effect of the newspaper articles on the clinic's intake. Why is it important to case workers to answer that question? Such a way of looking at the problem immediately brings new aspects of it to light, for the problem is now not an isolate, but a small segment of an interrelated body of concepts and practices. Attention is directed to the fact that child-guidance clinics are not well understood by the public, that there is much mental ill health among children, that education of the public through popularized literature is a method frequently used but that there is serious question whether such information about psychological disorders is of much use to parents. Consideration of these matters makes it clear that the chief reason case workers want to study the effect of certain newspaper articles upon intake is to find out whether the articles brought to the clinic parents who needed its help and were in a frame of mind to use it; whether the articles helped to crystallize these parents' decisions; whether they gave the parents the correct impression about the clinic's work or whether they unnecessarily stirred up anxiety, provided parents with rationalizations, and through bringing unsuitable cases to the clinic tended to undermine the clinic's reputation in the community.

When the problem is stated in these terms it is obvious that its

solution cannot be entrusted to research workers who are remote from the profession, not trained to recognize the significance of clients' statements and actions. Equally so, the problem cannot be solved by case workers who consider each case wholly unique and are unwilling to concentrate on particular aspects of cases and to generalize about them. With personnel competent to undertake this kind of investigation the next step is to consider carefully just what data are needed to answer the proposed question and how they can be secured. Clearly, the question cannot be answered by picking out certain interesting cases for illustration nor by limiting attention to those that proved acceptable to the clinic staff. The cases chosen for study must be either all those in which the influence of the newspaper articles is seen, or cases really representative of that total group. Since parents might fail to mention having read the articles or case workers might fail to record that they did mention it, the study would have most value if material for it were collected during the time case work was in process, but it is possible that some worth-while information could be obtained retrospectively if the records were written in a fairly verbatim form. This desirability of conducting investigations during the course of case work needs, however, to be stressed if case knowledge is really to be furthered by research.

Having chosen the cases for study, one must become even more explicit as to what information is needed to answer the general questions with which the study is concerned. The following sub-questions are examples of the topics about which data from clients or from case records might be collected in this particular investigation: Which of the articles had the client read? Had he known about the clinic before he read the articles? If so, did the articles influence his present application? Which points or case illustrations in the articles did he spontaneously refer to and what did he have to say about them? With which of them, if any, did he appear to identify his problem? What did he appear to want from the clinic? Why had he come to it? What was his conception of the clinic's aims and methods? In what specific ways and through what specific statements, if any, did the articles appear to have increased or reduced the client's anxiety about his problem? Did

the articles influence the client's ability or desire to accept the clinic's help? What sort of person was this client in terms of intelligence, economic status, personality type, relationship with his child, and so on?

The very asking of questions like these has implications for the way case records should be analyzed or material that is secured through interviews recorded in order to carry on case work research. It is not possible to answer these questions categorically at the time the material is collected, nor, on the other hand, will it result in satisfactory data to record interviews in the usual case record form. Within limits, the client must be left free to bring out material as he wishes, for the required information consists, not only of what he says about certain subjects, but how he says it, and in what connection, and what other behavior he displays in the process.² The research case worker, however, keeping clearly in mind what he wants to find out, must utilize opportunities to obtain answers to the questions he has formulated. Equally important, he must record his material for research purposes under the topics in which he is interested, even though that may mean keeping separate records for research and for treatment. In these research records he must keep rigorously to the points in question, though not so narrowly that he does not present adequate evidence as backing for his statements about them. This is a technique that has barely been experimented with; to perfect it will be one of the first tasks of research case workers.

When the answers to each question for each case have been secured, the research worker is faced with the problem of how to use the material most meaningfully. This is the point at which much case work research breaks down, for case workers are characteristically reluctant to reduce data about human beings to categories, count them, and search out their interrelationships. Such a procedure, however, cannot be avoided if valid answers to the questions are to be secured. Take, as an example, one of the subquestions previously mentioned: What did the clients appear

² In this respect case work research differs greatly from that which is usually carried on by sociologists and psychologists, the difference being attributable to the difference in the problems these various professions deal with.

to want from the clinic? To answer this adequately in each particular case requires a fairly detailed description of the client's statements and behavior and (in order to control the variable factor of the case worker's technique) the circumstances under which they took place. To answer the question for the group as a whole, however, requires that the research worker devise a set of categories that will bring out similarities and differences among the clients in a way that is meaningful to the profession. It will not do to put that task upon the reader of the report by giving him the detailed material about each case, nor is it sufficient to cite interesting examples. The informed reader will already know that clients come to a clinic with a great variety of attitudes. Some of these are considered prognostically favorable; others are not. What he wants to know from the research is whether there is a high proportion of favorable attitudes among clients who have read the feature articles and whether it is higher than that found among the usual clientele. He wants to know, that is, not only what the attitudes were, but how many clients had each type. The problem before the research case worker, therefore, is to formulate categories about qualitative material that are meaningful, reliable, and valid, that successfully differentiate among cases, and that adequately comprehend under the heading the behavior in question.

It is here that the lack of a science of case work is most evident. In most professions the research worker has an accumulated body of accepted concepts from which to draw many of his categories and does not have to start *ab initio* in each piece of research. Concepts in case work are much less well formulated, with the result that the research worker usually has both to devise the concepts and to convince the reader that the series of cases in question are adequately accounted for by them. Consequently, any piece of research involves a great amount of painstaking and creative analysis. The result is that very little case work research is carried through to a really satisfying conclusion.

In this connection two other handicaps to case work research are to be noted: (1) the reluctance of case workers to accept one another's evaluations of situations; and (2) their disposition to

attribute most failures of case work treatment to inadequate handling by the case worker. For instance, if the research case worker sets up as one category of the attitudes of clients a classification entitled "Wanted to Use Clinic as Means of Punishing the Child" many readers will doubt the validity of the writer's judgment of individual cases and will attribute the clients' attitudes to the way in which their requests were met. The readers may, of course, be correct, especially if they can find support for their point of view in the evidence the research worker presents. Communicable research is impossible if a profession has not advanced to the point where there is a certain amount of concurrence among its members about the significance of the phenomena with which they are concerned.

A similar procedure of defining categories must be used for most of the significant topics in the original case outline. The material is then in a form that facilitates answering the main question in both a quantitative and a qualitative manner. For example, the material can be arranged to answer one of the main questions of the study: Did reading the articles influence the character of the clinic's intake? For this we would first have to sort out the cases in which the clients said they came to the clinic as a result of having read the articles. Then, by comparing these cases with the usual intake of the clinic, we could find out whether they differed with respect to the kind of problems they brought to the clinic's attention, whether there was anything unusual in what they expected of the clinic and in what they regarded as its job. The exact influence of the articles could be shown by noting what points most attracted the clients' attention and what conception of the clinic they derived from them. A similar analysis could be made of the effect of the articles on the clients who did not come to the clinic in response to the articles but who had read them and utilized them in one way or another during treatment. All this material might have great significance for the preparation of future newspaper articles, as well as helping to answer the other main questions with which the study started.

In addition to devising significant categories and classifying the material in the case records, such an analysis requires tabulation

of relationships. For the most part, however, one has little occasion in case work research to use averages or correlation coefficients; for the objective of such research is seldom to demonstrate the average behavior of groups of clients but is usually to make clear what kind of relationships obtain among individual cases. For the most part, tables in this kind of research are a means of presenting data in summary fashion, so that significant differences and relationships can be sorted out, while at the same time the individuality of the cases is to some extent preserved.

Tables often form the basis for detailed discussion of factors and relationships that are not meaningful if confined to the statistical form. For example, one might find in the present study that an unusually high proportion of clients who responded to the newspaper articles were overly anxious mothers who were particularly perturbed about their children's progress in school. (This would have been shown by a relationship table in which the types of problems occasioning the child's referral to the clinic were related to the referring parent's personality pattern.) To trace out just what there was in the articles that brought this response and how this group of mothers utilized what was said in the articles one would have to return to the original case records, but the tabular presentation of the data would have shown a relationship that might otherwise have passed unnoticed.

More than an elementary knowledge of statistical theory is required for work from which valid generalizations can be drawn. Knowledge of sampling and of other means of avoiding (or at least recognizing) bias is of primary importance. Scientific investigations are seldom conducted for the sole purpose of discovering something about the particular cases under study. Instead, these cases are analyzed because it is believed that findings derived from them will be applicable to other cases. Why and under what conditions this belief is justified is one of the main contributions of statistical theory, and the research worker who lacks exact understanding of this aspect of the matter is apt to go astray.

In addition, it is highly important that the research worker know how to measure what statisticians call the errors of sampling; that is, know how to judge when differences are large enough to

be considered significant. The uninitiated might think that the fact that half of the clients who came to the clinic in response to the newspaper articles were not emotionally ready to enter into treatment was a very bad showing. The statistically trained worker, however, would know that such a figure by itself has little meaning and that its significance can be learned only by comparison with the usual clinic intake, and even then the extent of the difference between the two groups would have to be carefully considered.

These points, perhaps, have demonstrated that research in case work, as in all other fields, has two aspects: (1) the formulation of pertinent questions and the devising of concepts and categories in which the data that answer those questions can be expressed; and (2) the utilization of pertinent scientific methods for ascertaining the relationships among the concepts and testing their significance. In the well-established sciences and professions the basic work dealing with the first of these aspects has already been accomplished; and such prestige has attached to the analytic methods that have been used that few have stopped to inquire which of them are appropriate to case work research. Method, however, depends upon the problems to be solved. Those who would carry on research in case work, therefore, must concern themselves first with the posing of questions and the formulation of concepts. They will be in a position to judge which methods used by other scientists facilitate the answers and which do not.

THE CONFIDENTIAL RELATIONSHIP IN SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION

By PAULINE MILLER

SHOULD the confidential relationship in social work administration be recognized at law as one establishing a privilege against the disclosure of communications between the social worker and the client, on the same footing as other confidential relationships in which the law has recognized privilege—that of husband-wife, attorney-client, physician-patient, and priest-and-penitent? This issue is one upon which social work alone will not be entirely competent to pass judgment. Social workers must, however, undertake to analyze the demands of day-by-day situations in order to describe accurately this practice; to compare their practice and problems with those existing in allied professional relationships in which the privilege is established; and then to turn to the legal profession for advice on the specific issue of whether the law of privileged communications actually applies to their practices which relate to confidence and which come out of their immediate experience.

Since it is in the broad expansion of the public social services within the past several years that much of the need for redefining the relationship of client to agency has arisen, we may be forgiven if we choose the public assistance field as the point of departure in this discussion. Ethical standards in social work administration have long required that the confidential relationship of client and social worker be protected. Social work administrators have, it is true, found ways and means of protecting from disclosure to public officials and in courts at law information contained in case

records long before they had specific statutory authority to support them. When actually faced with court orders to produce information contained in agency records, social work administrators have used various devices to avoid relinquishing their material. Pleading a relationship of confidence with the client was a first step; if that failed, they not infrequently used their case record material selectively and submitted only verified face sheet and other factual material. When the case in question involved a medical or psychiatric social work agency, the administrators sometimes hid behind the doctor-patient privilege, since the social work data could not be extricated from the medical and psychiatric data; or they escaped disclosure because of the fact that their information was largely hearsay. But so far as I can determine, it was not until the enactment of the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act, requiring that an approved state plan for old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children must contain safeguards restricting the use or disclosure of public assistance information to purposes directly connected with the administration of public assistance, that specific statutory provisions were called into existence.

These provisions were primarily directed to protection of public assistance information from disclosure on much the same basis as that which had been found successful in the administration of the Social Security Board's program of old age benefits, now old age and survivors' insurance. The Board's practice, embodied in June, 1937, in Regulation No. 1, forbade disclosure of personal information from the Board's records, except to a claimant or prospective claimant for old age benefits, or to his duly authorized representative.¹ The Board thus accepted responsibility for respecting the personal life of the claimants from whom information was obtained, and for assuring employers and the public of the integrity of its operation in using information only for the purposes for which it was obtained. The necessity to safeguard the integrity of the public assistance programs, by preventing any tendency to exploit lists of public assistance recipients for political, personal,

¹ Ida C. Merriam, "The Protection and Use of Information Obtained under the Social Security Act," *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. IV (May, 1941), No. 5.

or commercial purposes, and the desire to establish in the administration of public assistance explicit recognition of, and respect for, the rights of the persons involved, motivated the enactment of the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act. It is with regard to the effort to attain the latter objective—to establish a true respect for the rights of persons involved—that social work may need to examine its daily practice with most careful scrutiny.

The client who comes to the social work agency for help presents his situation, giving certain data which the agency must have to determine whether he is eligible for assistance and how much assistance should be granted, within the scope of agency policy and funds. The information he gives is subject to an investigation, for the agency must justify its action in granting or withholding assistance. Under existing practice, there is at this point set in motion a series of activities, all of which necessarily involve a certain amount of disclosure of the data the client presents: clearance and registration with the social service exchange, if there is an exchange in the community; interviews with relatives, doctors, and other references; bank inquiries, sometimes discussions with creditors; and so on. All these discussions involve, as a minimum, the disclosure that this individual has sought the agency's help, and usually require some indication as to why he has done so. It is true that under good agency practice the client clearly authorizes this activity, for he can choose whether to apply for assistance or not, and he is given some explanation of agency method and procedures. Quite apart from the question of how much real choice or control exists in situations involving serious need, a number of as yet unsolved questions present themselves. How much can we give of agency process without burdening the client? How much must we be sure he understands and accepts when he authorizes the agency investigation to determine his need for our services? And once having authorized the agency to obtain a substantial body of information about him, does he surely realize that some information may need to be kept confidential even from him, since it was obtained from the relative, friend, doctor, or other reference with the understanding that the confidence would be respected?

Perhaps the most serious anomaly in social work administration as it affects confidence is the fact that at times we must accept and elicit data for one purpose, only to use it for another. An extreme example is where we request court action in the breakup of a home, when the situation has been brought to our attention in the first instance through a request by the parent for aid to dependent children. Or again, we may take the major responsibility in requesting the return to a mental hospital of a patient who has trustingly told us his most cherished delusions in an effort to secure help in making good his escape from the institution. As probation and parole officers, we obtain information from the client himself that may lead to his incarceration.

Today we can scarcely overlook the role of social agency record material in a time of war. Most of us have had to search for proper guidance in meeting requests for information needed by various governmental authorities that have responsibility for making administrative determinations or recommendations bearing on the loyalties of persons who are suspected of espionage, or who are seeking employment in war industries. I am personally convinced that sound social policy is in line with public opinion in sanctioning a temporary relaxation of the standards by which we apply the principle of confidence in this instance, as in other circumstances in which we face temporary limitations upon personal and individual rights in a self-imposed discipline to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion.

Situations involving protective responsibility toward children, those involving mental illness or criminal activity of individuals whose behavior may seriously threaten the general community, and war-created situations are representative of those in which social agencies operate legitimately in using data to fulfill a purpose for which the client did not intend the information. It is with respect to these situations that we may need the best legal advice as to whether the concept of privileged communications, if applied to social work administration, will jeopardize the exercise of essential responsibilities of social work, both toward individual clients and toward the community. Granted that social workers may be skillful and generally successful in meeting their

responsibilities in such a way as to raise no serious question as to violation of confidence, we should not close our eyes to the fact that there may be, and frequently is, an element of violation in the basis on which information is obtained in these types of cases and that on which it is used. How can we reconcile this conflict so that we do not threaten the underlying principle on which our relationship to the client is built, and are yet in a position to carry out valid functions of a special protective nature with which social work agencies are charged?

We are concerned with a relationship between client and social agency rather than between client and social worker, for at every point we find ourselves dealing with the client in our role as representative of an administrative unit. If we accept that approach, it would appear that our problem is not so much one of maintaining absolute confidence with the client as it is of defining the basis on which he obtains our services and of using the information he gives us responsibly. The release of information is then valid only in the fulfillment of our functions and objectives in making the services of the agency most completely available to him. But even this statement, reasonable though it sounds, is simpler in statement than in achievement. In the last analysis, we will have to recognize that social work administration never lends itself to simple answers—no more here than in other aspects of practice and theory.

I am inclined to leave to the law the determination of whether such situations, all of which represent valid functions of social work agencies, lend themselves to legal definition on the score of "the law of privileged communication." Social workers must themselves, however, accept primary responsibility and direct serious thought and effort to analyzing another phase of the problem, namely, that of the exchange of information among social agencies.

Federal standards for safeguarding public assistance information were developed following the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act, as a guide to state agencies in implementing state statutes dealing with protection of public assistance information.²

² "Standards for Safeguarding Information concerning Applicants and Recipients of Public Assistance," letter to state agencies from Oscar M. Powell, Executive Director, Social Security Board, May 7, 1941.

These standards contain the following statement with reference to the basis for defining exceptions to be made to the practice of safeguarding public assistance information: "Approved practice in public welfare administration sanctions the release of information to another agency from whom the applicant has requested certain services, and whose objective is the protection or advancement of the welfare of the applicant."

Federal officials, social work administrators, and lawyers alike were not unaware, in formulating this statement, of the potential threat to adequate protection of information that the opening of data to other social agencies may represent. We were, however, equally aware of the need for protecting what is essentially sound in the interchange of data among social agencies. It has proved no simple task to analyze what it is we are attempting to foster and protect in preserving established ways of functioning, and what we may well leave behind as outmoded remnants of a different time and thought.

The charity organization movement, in its beginnings in this country, was impelled by the need for cleaning up community situations that represented confusion, overlapping, financial and social waste. It was concerned to remedy existing disorganization by organized community activity. The literature of the period stresses constantly the "mounting desire to bring order out of chaos." Descriptions of the development of the charity organization movement emphasize certain general principles for the administration of relief which have survived to the present time; among them the cardinal principle of coöperation with other charities is always to be found.³

A gradual clarification of the welfare picture in this country has, in fact, occurred over the past several decades. In place of the typical pattern in urban communities of numerous agencies with overlapping functions and duplicating services, order and organization generally have emerged, community by community. The community resources do, by and large, fit together into a pattern of services not competing with, but supporting one another. Per-

³ See, for example, Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

sons seeking help may be directed to the proper agency, without undue loss of time or effort, from any of a large array of agencies in a given community. Pertinent factual information that makes possible quick, efficient functioning, without duplication of investigation or inconvenience to the applicant, can generally be obtained and utilized in making services available to applicants.

The changes in social work administration to which we have been brought in the past half century or more have resulted in an emphasis, not so much upon avoidance of exploitation of the social work resources of the community—although that is still an objective not to be overlooked—as upon the adequate marshaling of community resources on behalf of the individual recipient and upon the most effective utilization of specific knowledge and skills in helping the client with his problems. In this connection, it is significant for our profession to look at the practice which has evolved in the clinics held in child-guidance centers, medical social work departments, and family case work agencies, where social worker, psychiatrist, physician, and psychologist analyze their findings in relation to the individual case. The client who has come to an agency for a specific service finds that his request for help requires the joint consideration and professional skills of representatives of varied professions, either in the same agency or in more than one agency. A balance must always be sought between the extreme of assuming responsibility for decisions that should be left with the client and that of burdening him with the task of coördinating the services of varied agencies whose functioning he can at best only partially understand. It is entirely sound for the agency to whom the client has come for a given service to assume major responsibility for choosing what agencies and what specialized professional services can best be utilized in helping him with his problem, constantly keeping in mind the objective of placing the community's services at his disposal for his greatest use.

The effort to pool specific services on behalf of an individual client seems to represent a proper professional approach to the problems with which social work administration concerns itself. It is with respect to the need for maintaining the necessary rela-

tionships among consultants from varied professional groups or from several social agencies that we must be cautious lest the concept of privileged communications, once established for social work, should have the effect of setting up unrealistic procedures and barriers to the full and proper interplay of professional services.

To say that there are certain values in interagency and inter-professional relationships is not, however, to imply that all customary and routinized methods and practices commend themselves for preservation. We cannot afford to close our eyes to some of the serious deficiencies and abuses which have grown up in the name of coöperation among social agencies. Social work must come to grips with the meaning of its principle of confidence in day-by-day practice as long as exhaustive social data that are not needed for use are accumulated, and certain information is used with little or no knowledge on the part of the client, with little relation to the basis on which the client gave the information, and at times with real irresponsibility on the part of the agency.

Let us see where the foregoing discussion has led us:

1. We are required to give public accounting for funds expended and action on individual cases, which in turn requires the use of the technique of the social investigation, a source of information and at the same time a source of disclosure regarding who is seeking assistance and on what basis.
2. We recognize a need for a certain freedom in using information presented by the client, and by others regarding him, in functioning effectively in special roles for which social work administration is held responsible by the community—protective services in behalf of children, services to certain mental patients, and special services to the community in relation to such mental patients, in relation to dangerous criminals, and in relation to persons whose loyalty may seriously affect the war effort.
3. We recognize a need for a fairly free, though controlled and disciplined, interchange of information among professional persons, representing varied social work agencies or professional disciplines, concerned in making services available on behalf of the individual client seeking such services.

4. We recognize a need to be protected from forced disclosure of information presented to us for the special purpose of obtaining social agency services, involving, as it not infrequently does, highly personal and exhaustive data about individuals.

5. We recognize that social work administration must learn how to clarify and interpret agency function in such a way that the client knows the basis on which he is related to the agency—knows what is expected of him and, in turn, what he may expect of the agency; knows what the agency requirements and methods of functioning are; and knows to what use the information he gives, or authorizes others to give about him, will be put.

Our objectives, in other words, include: achieving a defined relationship between client and social agency, the boundaries and mutual rights and obligations of which are clearly understood by client and community; preserving the value to the client which may be derived from the pooling of professional knowledge and services on his behalf; maintaining the valid functions of social agencies in certain special protective roles; and assuring the social agency of its authority in protecting its information from forced disclosure. It is with respect to these objectives that the establishment of privilege needs to be analyzed.

The development of welfare as a major function of government sharpens, if it does not create, the relationships between social work practice and civil liberties. Protection of public assistance information, based on statutory requirements, was developed at least in part as a result of experience that had been found to be successful and effective in operation in the insurance programs. The public social services have in recent years drawn from this experience of the social insurance field, and have attempted to establish the concept of public assistance as a right. The concept of public assistance as a right cannot be realized as long as public assistance recipients may, in the process of obtaining assistance be subjected to the loss of equally valuable human rights. The requirement in state and Federal public assistance statutes that information concerning applicants and recipients of public assistance must be restricted in use to purposes directly related to the administration of public assistance thus takes its place among

those other principles in the public assistance statutes that serve to define the relationship of the public assistance applicant and recipient to the public agency—the right to money payments unrestricted as to their use; the requirement that payments must be made directly to the individual recipient except in the rare instance when he has legally been found to require a guardian, and then only to the legally appointed guardian; and the right to a fair hearing before the final authority in the state. These principles that have been evolving from the public social services during the past ten years represent gains in social work administration which, if fully integrated and consolidated, may repay the debt which the public social services owe to private social work for the skills and methods on which practice in public welfare administration has been based.

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

By *AUDREY M. HAYDEN*

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION for social action is one of the most thrilling and satisfying fields of social endeavor. I know of no richer rewards, and no more solid satisfactions than those reaped in this field, but I have found that much social action is merely vocal. I say this because I have met many people who talk glibly of social action, but who are unable to answer the following elementary questions, the knowledge of which should be the very ABC of effective social action:

1. How many legislative districts are there in your state?
2. How many representatives and senators are there in your state legislature?
3. What is a constitutional majority in your Statehouse and Senate?
4. How many votes are necessary in your state for emergency legislation?
5. What are the names of your aldermen, your representatives in Washington, and your state legislators?

These are merely minimum informational requirements for one who would participate in social action. The leader must, of course, know every facet of legislative technique, for I assume that most social action takes the form of the enactment of laws or ordinances, or pressure in behalf of better social services where politics has reared its ugly head.

When we engage in social action we face one of the most discouraging things in American life today—the cynical acceptance

of bad government, or what Lincoln called "the complacent policy of indifference to evil." It takes unusual qualities to face these, to wade through that sea of apathy, and to interpret your piece of social action in such a way as to fire your community with your own zeal.

Now, of course, interpretation is a trick all by itself, and I make a respectful request for brevity and simplicity. Did you ever stop to think that people who would not turn a hand to engage in "social action" would turn handsprings to "right a wrong"? Remember too to do your interpretation with a smile—not a subservient smile or an overbearing smile, but a good, honest, self-respecting smile. And salt your story with a little wit. A hearty laugh has in many cases broken down the barrier between social work and the public.

Don't wait until social action is necessary to organize your community, but use social action to consolidate all the friends you have made by interpreting your particular type of service to your community. If your community is aware of, and sympathetic with, the general broad principles of your work, organizing for social action will still mean hard work and lots of it, but just about half of your problem will be solved. Friends whose confidence you have already gained will rally to your side for action.

Another postulate I would lay down would be in regard to the advantages of concentration. We all know that a mighty fine fire can be started by concentrating the sun's rays through a small lens. We also have heard the story of the chameleon who burst trying to make good on a Scotch plaid. I have heard long discussions on social action which envisioned action in about seven different fields of social endeavor. I have noticed that when energy is scattered the results are negligible and no clean-cut progress was made. Be content to make haste slowly.

Fourteen years ago the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness outlined a legislative program which included four laws to protect the eyesight of the citizens of Illinois. Did we take them all to Springfield at once? Not at all.

In 1929 we took the Sight-saving Class bill down, and got it through.

In 1931 we took the Silver Nitrate bill down, and got it through both houses, only to have it declared unconstitutional by the Attorney General and vetoed by the Governor. In a state where tradition prohibited passage of a law over a Governor's veto, we were able to get the bill passed over the veto in the House and failed by but six votes in the Senate.

Did we give that fight up and go on to our next bill? Not on your life! We went out and organized the community on a legislative basis. In the next eighteen months we organized a committee of 3,114 key people, who in turn represented 2,500,000 voters—people who had a ready-made forum through which we could feed information on our legislative progress. We took that bill back in 1933 and, with an organized community behind it, got it through.

Then in 1935 we took the Trachoma Control bill to Springfield and got it passed, always using our committee people when necessary and strengthening the bond made by "the fellowship of the deed."

In 1937 we amended our school bill to straighten out some of the problems which showed up under enforcement. In 1941 we got through the last of our four bills, the Fireworks Law, which banned the retail sale of explosive fireworks in Illinois.

I am convinced that we could not have done such effective work for prevention of blindness if we had tried to get all those bills passed simultaneously. Along the way we made legislative friends who have stuck to us like burrs. Along the way we have developed a reputation for getting our bills passed no matter who the opponents might be, and there have been some powerful ones. Along the way we have developed in the community a respect for our integrity and common sense and have made the legislators proud of what they have done to prevent blindness.

The attitude with which we approach social action is important. It should be "with malice toward none" and charity for nearly all. Malice never "won friends or influenced people." Then too the taint of self-interest should be entirely absent, or we will weaken our case with the politicians.

Of course, much success, or the lack of it, stems back to the

leadership. The leader of social action must, I feel, be a dedicated person, one who can inspire others. He must have the ability to make others "smell the brimstone and hear the vibration of the harps." He must have character and conscience and courage. He must have stamina and determination. He must never admit for a second that he can be licked. He must have imagination and the ability to discover and utilize every resource of the community. He must have some flexibility. He must be able to discriminate between what is essential in social action and what is a nonessential element on which he may yield, but he must never yield on a principle. He must inspire confidence, not only among one group in the community, but in the majority of groups.

If you are organizing a community for social action, start in plenty of time. Of course, situations often arise suddenly which call for social action, but when possible, start at least eighteen months ahead of your deadline to formulate your plans. Work out a plan of procedure and execute it slowly and carefully detail by detail. It pays to spend a lot of time and thought on this step. List the people of all parties whose support is important, and opposite each name write the most potent contact person who should be selected. This, of course, assumes a thorough knowledge of the community.

If it is legislation you are working on, get it drafted a good six months ahead of time by an expert in the field into which the proposed legislation falls. After the first draft is completed, call in all the social work groups interested in such legislation and submit it to them for discussion and criticism and find some ground on which you can all agree so that you can present a united front when the crucial time comes. If you are sponsoring legislation it is your business to see to it that it is reasonable and sound.

After the draft has been cleared and adjusted with the social workers, present it to other community groups whose endorsement and help you wish to enlist, such as the League of Women Voters, the Legion, labor groups, medical groups, service clubs, agricultural groups, the Parent-Teacher Association, federated women's clubs, etc. Be sure in presenting it that they understand what

they are endorsing. This, of course, means simple, clear interpretation.

Election time should find your bill drafted and endorsed and your community contacts made. You will find that politicians will never be so polite and respectful as just before election. This is the time to have men of all parties approached by well-informed, powerful men and groups and sounded out in regard to your piece of legislation. Your whole plan should be predicated on using the most powerful contacts for each person whose support you are trying to enlist. Be sure that you have enough imagination to figure out what the opposition is going to be, to estimate its strength, and to take measures which will nullify its activity.

Strive for good newspaper interpretation. This involves careful, delicate work. See that such publicity does not fall on barren ground, but gets to the right place at the right time. When we were mobilizing public sentiment for the ground work for our fireworks legislation we cajoled the cartoonists over a four-year period into doing some excellent cartoons on the subject of a safe Fourth. We kept mats of those cartoons and had reprints made. When the bill was finally before the Legislature each man got one of those cartoons in a hand-addressed envelope every day for seven legislative days. They referred to them facetiously as valentines, but they were effective.

Never, never use pressure unless you find it necessary. Nothing infuriates a man of good will so much as receiving a lot of pressure when all along he had intended to help the measure. Never use pressure for the simple sake of showing your strength; it will not be appreciated. If, however, you find pressure necessary use it early and late, in small and large doses. Use selective pressure and use mass pressure. Use it until it hurts.

Three years ago, with its own money, the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness developed a glaucoma clinic in the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary. In doing this we were following our usual policy of demonstrating to a public agency a method by which blindness could be prevented, hoping that at the end of the demonstration period it would be incorporated into their program.

To do this work we retained a medical social worker with special training in eye work. There was also a physician and an office secretary in the clinic. At the end of two and a half years there were about twelve hundred patients returning consistently to that clinic for tensions, fields, and visions. Since only about 3 percent of the glaucoma patients in this institution had remained under steady treatment, prior to the installation of this special clinic, we felt that we had proved our point. In the fall of 1940 we therefore approached the Welfare Department of the state, under which the infirmary operated, and asked it to include this work in the department budget before the Legislature convened in January of 1941. The department promised to do so.

A new administration came in on an economy program about this time, and somewhere along the line this amount was cut out, and when the Welfare Appropriation bill came into the Legislature it was minus the glaucoma clinic item. Nothing daunted, we drafted an amendment to the bill by raising the item for salaries and wages at the infirmary by \$8,400. This particular type of an amendment was drafted to obviate a veto, since the Governor in Illinois may veto items in whole but not in part, and we knew that he could not veto an item for salaries and wages. If we had left it in the form in which it was originally submitted by the Welfare Department, we might have risked a veto. By dint of fast, hard work we made that amendment stick in the face of a definite policy by the administration not to have any amendments put on appropriation bills.

The glaucoma clinic became a part of the state program and we as a private agency began to put the wheels in motion to place the workers in that clinic under civil service. In October a new managing officer was appointed to the infirmary. This was a purely political appointment and changed the whole situation in that particular institution, where we had previously had fine coöperation. Early in February, before the civil service plans had been completed, a member of the Governor's Employment Committee walked into the clinic one Saturday noon and dismissed our trained worker without giving cause or due notice, and replaced her immediately with a precinct captain whose profes-

sional background consisted of being the proprietor of a public garage.

Here was the time for social action on a clean-cut issue. With the political situation what it is in Illinois, with an unfriendly managing officer within the institution, with no civil service rating as a basis for protest, the situation looked bad. But we had our background for social action. We had friends within the administration who were in powerful positions to help us. We had close coöperation with the medical profession in Illinois, and the Chicago newspapers were potential assets. Moreover, the new appointment had been so bad and so utterly political that it militated in our favor.

Working first with our board of directors and Medical Advisory Committee, we started pressure on the Welfare Department. Within a week we found that our real problem was a small group of Italian Republicans whose interest in the infirmary was purely political, who had been responsible for the appointment of the managing officer, and who were making further embarrassing demands on the administration. This group, we were told, held the balance of power in the state Legislature and had to be appeased. As we pointed out to several members of the administration, appeasement as a technique had been demonstrated to be very unsatisfactory on an international scale and would probably be equally unsuccessful in our own democracy. We were repeatedly told by the friendly Director of Welfare in those first two weeks that the worker would be reinstated, but nothing happened. And the reason nothing happened was that this small group of men of ill will was more powerful with the administration than was the Director of Welfare. Here we were faced with a situation where quiet, dignified diplomacy apparently would not work, where we could no longer deal with the Welfare Department, but had to deal directly with the Governor.

We wrote to all our 2,300 givers, told them the situation briefly, and asked them not only to protest to the Governor themselves, but to get any clubs or church groups with which they were connected to protest too. This was the beginning of mass pressure.

We called a meeting of the medical social eye workers in town

and, using them as a spearhead for mass pressure, proceeded to circularize carefully worded petitions. We had eight or nine different types of petitions, and each one carried spaces for twenty names. We gave explicit directions to have them filled in in ink, to be sure that the voting address was used, and that only voters signed them. We explicitly asked not to have doctors sign these, for we were using the doctors in another way. It was our plan to take 1,000 signatures at a time and send them by registered mail to the Governor, with a statement that these were the first 1,000 signatures, etc. It was our plan to keep this up, if it took four years to do it. We felt that by doing it in this particular way we would dramatize the gathering resentment of the people and assure the Governor's awareness of that resentment.

In carrying on our specialized pressure we had to select the people who had the greatest amount of influence with the Governor. We found that the real estate company of which our president was head had furnished the Governor with his campaign headquarters before his election. We therefore wrote the complete story of this whole situation on company stationery, signed by our president, and sent it to a fraternity brother of the Governor's, who enclosed our letter with a personal one of his own, written in longhand.

One of our directors knew the special committee of five men who had headed the Governor's campaign group. He personally contacted each of these men and had them either write, wire, or call the Governor long distance.

We called up the clergyman in the church to which the Governor belonged. He wrote a special letter to the Governor.

We had the ophthalmologist who took care of the Governor's children write him a special letter.

We had a strong letter sent from the State Federation of Churches, showing the Governor that the religious groups of the state resented this type of interference with good social work.

We had three members of the group of welfare commissioners, who were the Governor's appointees, write him.

We kept in close contact with the fiscal head of the state, who

had always been interested in our work and who was one of the Governor's secretariat.

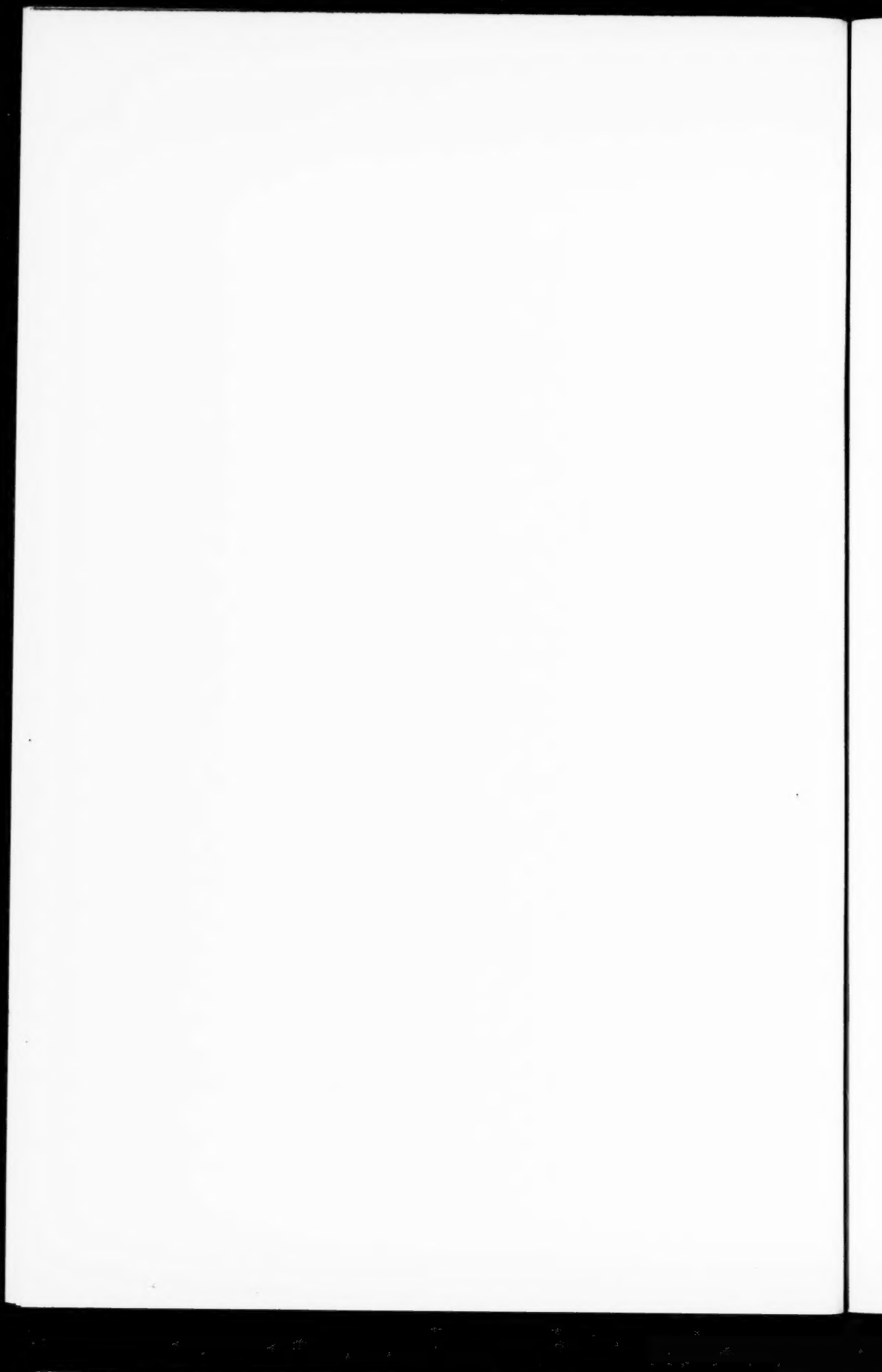
All this time we had refrained from using the newspapers, because we felt that it was better to proceed quietly, if possible. But as time went on and nothing was done, we decided to use the newspaper which was most effective with the Governor, the *Chicago Tribune*.

One of the patients at the glaucoma clinic had written a beautiful letter to us, which reflected the results of political manipulation like this on the patients. We asked her if she would allow us to submit it to the "Voice of the People" in the *Tribune*. She said she would be glad to if there were no reprisals. We assured her that we could protect her on this. We took her letter to the head of the editorial department of the *Tribune* and asked him to print it in the "Voice of the People" and to follow it with a Sunday feature article on glaucoma, which would include the whole story.

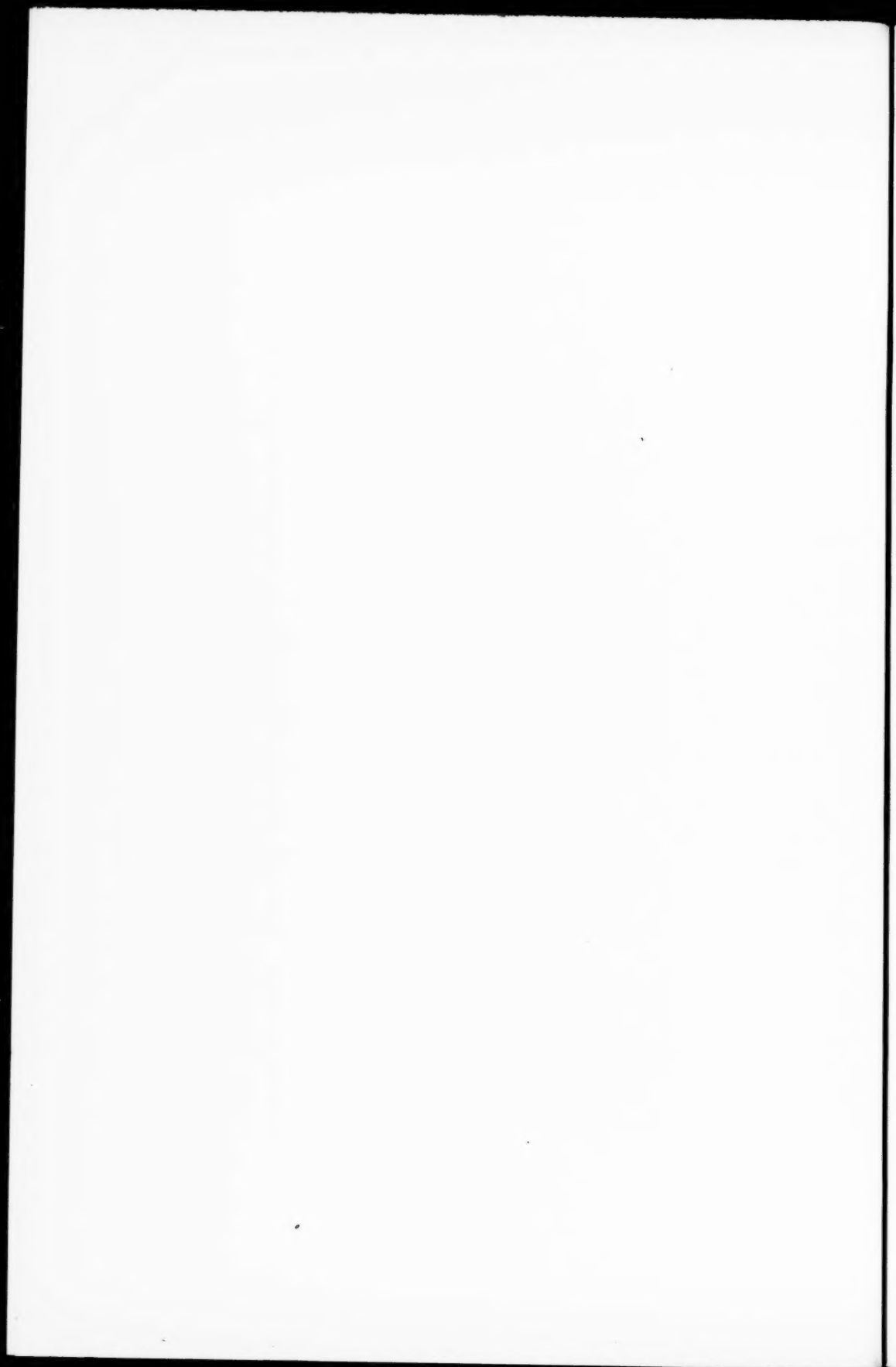
The following Thursday the article appeared. We bought up 100 copies of the *Tribune* and mailed them to our advisory council all over the state, telling them to use it for local publicity and to tear out the "Voice of the People," to underscore the letter in red, and to mail it to the Governor. On Friday morning we had a wire from Springfield, saying that the medical social worker would be reinstated. We called the *Tribune* and asked them to include in the Sunday feature article our thanks to the Governor for his action. The final fillip was in our insistence that the reinstatement be dated February 7, when the worker had been dismissed.

Since March we have been forwarding letters of thanks to the Governor, because we feel that in building for future social action there is nothing so important as thanking the politicians when they do the right thing. I might add that in four days' time we had collected 1,000 names. We received at least fifty carbons of letters which in that four-day period had gone to the Governor from the small group of our givers who had already been contacted. All kinds of people worked on this piece of social action. Men connected with the administration used their influence. Business-

men gave of their time. So did doctors. So did lawyers. So did clergymen. So did office workers and teachers. One of the memories of that campaign that I cherish most is the remark of an elevator boy in the building where our bookkeeper lives. She had taken home a petition and spent several evenings getting signatures. The morning the article came out in the *Tribune* announcing the reinstatement he grinned broadly as she stepped in the elevator and said, "Well, I see we got our girl back!"



APPENDIXES



APPENDIX A: PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 10—The President's address: Attacking on Social Work's Three Fronts.

Shelby M. Harrison, General Director, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; President, National Conference of Social Work. See Index.

Monday, May 11—Social Work Faces Its War Job.

1. The British Experience.

Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom; formerly British Minister of Health, Ottawa, Canada. See Index.

2. Mobilizing Civilian America to Win the War.

Jonathan Daniels, Assistant Director in Charge of Civilian Mobilization, Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Tuesday, May 12—After Victory—What?

Vera Micheles Dean, Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, New York City. See Index.

Wednesday, May 13—The South—Its Social and Economic Progress and Problems.

Mark Ethridge, Vice President and General Manager, the *Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Ky. See Index.

Charles S. Johnson, Director, Department of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. See Index.

Thursday, May 14—

4:00 P.M.: Annual business session.

8:30 P.M.: Associate group meetings.

Friday, May 15—The American Standard of Living in Wartime.

Leon Henderson, Director, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Saturday, May 16—The Responsibility of the Social Worker in a Democracy.

Gertrude Springer, Consultant, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago. See Index.

THE SECTIONS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, May 11—The Social Case Worker in National Defense.

1. The Social Services in National Defense.
Wilbur J. Cohen, Technical Adviser, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.
2. What Is the Place of Case Work in This?
Malcolm S. Nichols, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Boston.

Tuesday, May 12—Case Work and the Selectee.

1. The Effect of Selective Service on Selectees and on Their Families.
Sterling Johnson, Assistant to the National Director of Home Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
2. Volunteer Effort by Medical Social Workers in Coöperation with the New York City Selective Service Administration.
Sadie Shapiro, Director, Department of Social Service, Neurological Institute, New York City.
Theodate Haines Soule, Director, Department of Social Service, New York Hospital, New York City. See Index.

Group Meeting 1. (Joint Session with the American Home Economics Association, Social Welfare and Public Health Department.) Problems of Credit Systems.

1. Impact of War on Family Finances.
Rolf Nugent, Director, Consumer Credit Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.
2. The Case Work Aspect of This Problem.
Madeline Moore, Queens Secretary, Community Service Society of New York, Jackson Heights, N. Y. See Index.

Group Meeting 2. (Joint Session with the American Home Economics Association, Social Welfare and Public Health Department.) Standards of Assistance.

1. What Is the Basis of Adequate Standards?
Blanche Dimond, Consultant in Home Economics, State Department of Public Welfare, Boston.
2. What Happens to People When Adequate Standards Are Not Met?
Della Shapiro, Case Consultant, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas.

Group Meeting 3. Problems Met by Private Agencies Dispensing Relief.

1. Supplementation of Work-Relief and Public Assistance.

Mary W. Rittenhouse, District Secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, New York City.

2. Maintenance Relief.

Margaret E. Rich, Executive Secretary, Family Society of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 4. Different Methods of Meeting Economic Need.

1. Where the Grant Is Based Primarily on Need.

Edith Ross, Director of Public Assistance, Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

2. Where the Grant Is Based on Eligibility for Insurance.

Arthur P. Miles, Assistant Professor, Tulane School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans. See Index.

Wednesday, May 13—How Can the Case Worker Team Up with the Layman?

1. What Stands in the Case Worker's Way in Sharing the Job?

William Rinehart, Employment Consultant, Institute of Family Service, Cleveland.

2. What Practically Can We Do?

Clare M. Tousley, Director, Department of Public Interest, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

Group Meeting 1. Foster Home Care.

1. Trends in Foster Parent Education.

Lois Wildy, Assistant Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Supervisor of Training, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago. See Index.

2. Methods of Developing Community Interest and Participation in Securing Foster Homes.

Kate Bullock, Chief, Division of Child Welfare, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbia, S. C. See Index.

Group Meeting 2. Problems in Adoption.

1. The Value of Contact with a Case Work Agency throughout the Process of Adoption.

Sophie Van S. Theis, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. See Index.

2. Problems of Adoption in Rural Areas.

Ruth C. Aleshire, Consultant, North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C. See Index.

Group Meeting 3. Effects on Case Work Services of Social Factors in the Negro's Life.

1. Economic Factors.

Faith Jefferson Jones, District Supervisor, Public Assistance Division, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago. See Index.

2. Socio-political Factors.

Leora L. Conner, General Secretary, Family Welfare Agency of Memphis, Memphis, Tenn. See Index.

Thursday, May 14—Effect of Inadequate Programs of Public Assistance.

1. On Child Welfare Services.

Aleta Brownlee, Child Welfare Consultant, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

2. On the Work of the Crippled Children's Division.

Edith Baker, Director, Medical Social Work Unit, Division of Health Services, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Friday, May 15—Children in Defense Areas.

1. The Responsibility of Professional Social Workers for the Development of Day Nursery Care.

Cathryn S. Guyler, Field Secretary, National Association of Day Nurseries, New York City. See Index.

Group Meeting 1. Standards of Measurement Used in Staff Evaluations.

1. In a Private Agency.

Jeanette Hanford, District Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago. See Index.

2. In a Public Agency.

Martha Parrish Horne, Personnel Supervisor, State Welfare Board, Jacksonville, Fla.

Group Meeting 2. The Effect of Administration upon Case Work Practice.

1. The Effect of Personnel Practices on Standards of Case Work.

Eva Abramson, Director, Bureau of Procedures and Systems, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.

2. The Effects of Agency Policies on Case Work Practice.

Cornelia T. Biddle, Family Society of Philadelphia.

Group Meeting 3. The Importance of the School Program in Case Work with Exceptional Children.

1. From the Point of View of the School.

Carmelite Janvier, Director, Division of Special Services, Orleans Parish School Board, New Orleans; Assistant Professor of Social Work, Tulane University School of Social Work, New Orleans. See Index.

2. From the Point of View of the Case Work Agency.

Inez M. Baker, Parish Supervisor of Child Welfare, Department of Public Welfare, New Orleans.

Group Meeting 4. Some Aspects of the Problem of Alcohol.

Social Case Work Treatment of the Alcoholic.

Sybil M. Baker, Social Worker, Washingtonian Hospital, Boston.

See Index.

Group Meeting 5. (Joint Session with the Committee on Unmarried Parenthood.) Work with the Unmarried Mother.

What Facilities Are Essential to Adequate Care of the Unmarried Mother?

Ruth Brenner, Executive Director, Child Adoption Committee, Free Synagogue, New York City. See Index.

Discussant:

Maud Morlock, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Saturday, May 16—Professional Education for Social Case Work.

1. Professional Relations between the School and the Agency Used for Field Work Instruction.

Florence Sytz, Director of Field Work, Tulane University School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. See Index.

2. Methods of Research in Social Case Work.

Helen Witmer, Supervisor of Research, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass. See Index.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, May 11—Human Needs and Social Group Work.

Gertrude Wilson, Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh. See Index.

Tuesday, May 12—Identifying the Actual Community and Specific Problems and Needs.

NOTE: The first of four different series of three consecutive group meetings each, scheduled for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Each of the four series of meetings has been developed by four different pre-conference planning groups. Each planning group has selected a specific actual community as a basis for considering needs and problems, as well as for projecting a program and the necessary personnel to carry it out.

Pre-conference planning groups:

Series Number 1: Located in the Los Angeles-San Francisco Area.

Chairman: Harleigh Trecker, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Series Number 2: Located in the Pittsburgh-Cleveland Area:

Chairman: Bert Gold, Field Instructor, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association, Pittsburgh.

Series Number 3: Located in Two Areas in the Rural South, Coffee County, Alabama, and Pike County, Mississippi.

Arranged by Margaret Day, Assistant Secretary, National Federation of Settlements, New York City, with the collaboration of Jack H. Bryan, Tarleton Collier, and J. Lewis Henderson, of the Farm Security Administration.

Series Number 4: Located in the Military Area of Alexandria, La.

Arranged by Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association, Chicago.

Group Meeting 1 (Series Number 1). Identifying the Actual Community and Specific Problems and Needs in the Los Angeles-San Francisco Area.

Stella Hartman, Director of Group Work, Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles.

Group Meeting 2 (Series Number 2). Identifying the Actual Community and Specific Problems and Needs in the Pittsburgh-Cleveland Area.

Bert Gold, Field Instructor, Young Men's and Women's Hebrew Association, Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 3 (Series Number 3). Identifying the Actual Communities and Specific Problems and Needs in the Rural South.

A symposium presented by delegates from county-wide committees in Coffee County, Ala., and Pike County, Miss., who are taking part in rehabilitating their communities, including local leaders of the Farm Security Administration, client groups, representatives of civic groups, and various Federal, state, and local agencies.

Group Meeting 4 (Series Number 4). Identifying the Actual Community and Specific Problems and Needs at Alexandria, La.

1. The Changes Which Occur in a Community When Surrounded by a Soldier Population Three Times Its Size.

B. C. Taylor, Chairman, United Service Organizations Council, Alexandria, La.

2. The Problems Which Grow out of the Situation.

Harry J. Emigh, Regional Representative, Farm Security Administration, La.

3. Women's and Girls' Problems.

Mary Adams, Director, United Service Organizations Club, Alexandria, La.

Wednesday, May 13—

Group Meeting 1 (Series Number 1). Programming to Meet Specific Problems and Needs in the Actual Community (Los Angeles).

Stella Hartman, Director of Group Work, Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles.

Group Meeting 2 (Series Number 2). Programming to Meet Specific Problems and Needs in the Actual Community (South-Side, Pittsburgh).

Harold Murray, Group Work Supervisor, Kingsley House, Pittsburgh.

Alice Viehman, Girls' Worker, Brashear Association, Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 3 (Series Number 3). Programming to Meet Specific Problems and Needs in the Actual Communities (Coffee County, Ala., and Pike County, Miss.).

Symposium of representatives from Coffee and Pike Counties.

Group Meeting 4 (Series Number 4). Program and Personnel to Meet Specific Problems and Needs in the Actual Community (Alexandria, La.).

1. Organizations and Their Programs Which Developed to Meet Problems.

Rabbi Albert G. Baum, Director, United Service Organizations Club; Convener, United Service Organizations staff, Alexandria, La.

2. The Personnel Which Came to Alexandria's Public and Private Agencies, Their Backgrounds of Experience.

Harry J. Emigh, Regional Representative, Farm Security Administration, La.

Thursday, May 14—

Group Meeting 1 (Series Number 1). Personnel Requirements to Carry Out the Program as Previously Outlined for Los Angeles. Lawrence Norris, Executive, Pacific Area, Young Men's Christian Association, San Francisco.

Group Meeting 2 (Series Number 2). Personnel Requirements to Carry Out the Program as Previously Outlined for the South Side, Pittsburgh.

Harry Serotkin, Secretary of Group Work Division, Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 3 (Series Number 3). Personnel Requirements for the Programs in the Rural South as Illustrated by Coffee County, Ala., and Pike County, Miss.

Symposium of representatives from Pike and Coffee Counties.

Group Discussion 4 (Series Number 4). Open Summary Discussion of Materials Presented and Discussed in Previous Series 4 Meetings.

Discussion leader: Harry A. Wann, Director, Citizen's Committee Department, United Service Organizations, New York City.

Friday, May 15—Practical Difficulties and Problems.

Panel participants:

Joe R. Hoffer, Secretary, Educational and Recreation Department, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia.

Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Group Work, Wayne University, Detroit.

Philip Schiff, Director, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association, New Orleans.

Saturday, May 16—Are There Common Foundations for a Professional Outlook?

Wilber I. Newstetter, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh. See Index.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, May 11—(Joint Session with Section V—Public Welfare Administration.) Community Organization Leadership at the National Level: A Critical Analysis of the Present Situation, and the Outlook.

1. Voluntary Agencies.

Leonard W. Mayo, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland. See Index.

2. Federal Departments.

Fred K. Hoehler, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago. See Index.

Tuesday, May 12—How Have the Pre-Emergency Methods of Community Organization Been Adapted to Present Emergency Conditions in Small Towns and Rural Communities? In Metropolitan Areas?

Group Meeting 1. How Have the Pre-Emergency Methods of Community Organization Been Adapted to Present Emergency Conditions in Metropolitan Areas?

Lyman S. Ford, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.
T. Lester Swander, Executive Director, Corpus Christi Community Chest, Corpus Christi, Texas.

Group Meeting 2. How Have the Pre-Emergency Methods of Community Organization Been Adapted to Present Emergency Conditions?

1. In Rural Communities (State).

Jessie Hauser, Supervisor of Child Welfare Services, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.

2. In Rural Communities (Local).

Louise Gilbert, Child Welfare Worker, Clark County Department of Public Welfare, Jeffersonville, Ind.

Fern Carll Duncan, Child Welfare Worker, Sweetwater-Nolan County Child Welfare Unit, Sweetwater, Texas.

Wednesday, May 13—Some Technical Aspects of Community Organization.

Group Meeting 1. An Inventory of Services to Children as a War-time Volunteer Project.

Betty Eckhardt May, Director, National Citizens Committee of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, New York City.

Group Meeting 2. Applications of the Group Work Process in Community Organization with Special Reference to Techniques of Group Discussion: a Clinical Panel.

Moderator: Grace Loucks Elliott, President, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Group Meeting 3. Overcoming Obstacles to Community Planning, Represented by Vested Interests.

A Case Record from an Illinois Community.

Howard A. Amerman, Executive Secretary, Champaign-Urbana Community Chest Association and Council of Social Agencies, Champaign, Ill.

Panel participants:

Lyman S. Ford, staff member, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

Mary C. Raymond, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, New Orleans.

George Rabinoff, Associate Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.

Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

Group Meeting 4. Organizing a Community for Disaster Preparedness.

DeWitt C. Smith, National Director, Disaster Relief, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Thursday, May 14—How Can the Opportunities and Responsibilities Offered by an Awakened Volunteer Interest Be Met?

1. From the National Viewpoint.

Katherine R. (Mrs. DeForest) Van Slyck, Executive Secretary, Association of the Junior Leagues of America, New York City. See Index.

2. From the Local Viewpoint.

Helen Leovy, Chairman of the Volunteer Office and Registration

Chairman, Allegheny County Council of Civilian Defense, Pittsburgh.

Friday, May 15—(Panel discussion) Intersecting Lines of Community Organization—Governmental and Voluntary; National, Regional, and Local.

Chairman: Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City.

Panel participants:

Roy Sorenson, Associate General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association, Chicago.

Wilmer Shields, Chief, Volunteer Offices Section, Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D.C.

Charles F. Ernst, Area Administrator, Services to Armed Forces, American Red Cross, Pacific Branch, San Francisco.

James T. Brunot, Secretary to the Committee on Community Organization, Federal Security Agency, New York City.

Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

T. Lester Swander, Executive Director, Corpus Christi Community Chest, Corpus Christi, Texas.

Saturday, May 16.—(Joint Session with Section IV: Social Action.) Organizing the Community for Social Action.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, May 11—Social Security in a Changing World.

William Haber, Professor, Department of Economics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Maude T. Barrett, Director of Social Services, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La. See Index.

Arthur Miles, Assistant Professor of Social Economics, Tulane School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

Tuesday, May 12—

Group Meeting 1. War Health Issues.

1. Health Needs of Defense Areas.

Dean A. Clark, M.D., Surgeon, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D.C. See Index.

2. Trends and Proposals in Health Insurance.

I. S. Falk, Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

3. Labor's Part in Present Health Programs.

Boris Shishkin, Economist, Research Department, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

4. British War Health Services.

Florence Horsbrugh, C.B.E., M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, London, England.

Group Meeting 2. Civil Liberties in the United States.

1. General Outlook.

Jonathan Daniels, Assistant Director, in Charge of Civilian Mobilization, Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D.C.

2. Civil Liberties and the Repeal of the Poll Tax.

Walter J. Matherly, Dean, College of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla. See Index.

Discussants:

Lucy Randolph Mason, Public Relations Representative, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Atlanta, Ga.

James A. Dombrowski, Executive Secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Nashville, Tenn.

Wednesday, May 13—Industrial Relations in Wartime.

Gerard D. Reilly, Member, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Mary Craig McGeachy, Ministry of Economic Welfare, British Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Thursday, May 14—

Group Meeting 1. The Problem of Minorities in Wartime.

Mark Ethridge, Vice President and General Manager, the *Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Ky.; former Chairman, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

George I. Sanchez, Professor, Department of the History and Philosophy of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City. See Index.

Group Meeting 2. The Problem of Unemployment Due to Wartime Changes.

Robert K. Lamb, Staff Director, House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Washington, D.C. See Index.

R. J. Thomas, President, United Automobile Workers, Detroit, Mich.; Vice President, Congress of Industrial Organizations. See Index.

Friday, May 15—(Joint Session with Section V—Public Welfare Administration.) The Work of the Farm Security Administration in the Southern Communities.

James J. Maddox, Director, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Courtenay Dinwiddie, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

Saturday, May 16—Organizing the Community for Social Action.

Audrey M. Hayden, Executive Secretary, Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Chicago. See Index.

Elizabeth Magee, Executive Secretary, Consumer's League of Ohio, Cleveland.

Walter L. Stone, Director of Research, Council of Social Agencies, Nashville, Tenn.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, May 11—

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with Section III—Community Organization.) Community Organization Leadership at the National Level: a Critical Analysis of the Present Situation, and the Outlook.

11:00 A.M.-12:30 P.M.: Economic Bases of Governmental Social Services.

Economic Bases for Public Social Services.

The Right Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.

Discussants:

1. The Federal Point of View.

Peter Kasius, Associate Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board; Vice Chairman, National Family Security Committee, Washington, D.C. See Index.

2. The State Point of View.

Maude T. Barrett, Director of Social Service, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

Tuesday, May 12—

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with the Committee on Law and Social Work.) The Confidential Relationship in Social Work Administration.

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with the Committee on the Alien and Foreign-Born Citizen.) Mass Relocation and Resettlement of Aliens.

11:00 A.M.-12:30 P.M.: War Plans and Normal Functions of Public Agencies.

Impact of Defense upon the Public Social Services in the United States.

Donald S. Howard, Research Assistant, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. See Index.

Discussant:

Stuart Jaffary, Director, School of Social Work, Toronto, Canada.

Wednesday, May 13—

Group Meeting 1. Recruitment and Placement of Public Welfare Personnel.

W. S. Terry, Jr., Director of Public Welfare, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.

Discussants:

Howard L. Russell, Secretary, Department of Public Assistance, State of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa.

Raymond F. Clapp, Social Protection Section, Office of the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Group Meeting 2. Integration of Overlapping Merit System Jurisdictions.

Henry F. Hubbard, Staff Assistant, Council of Personnel Administration, Washington, D.C.

William Hodson, Commissioner, Department of Welfare, New York City.

Group Meeting 3. Interrelationship of Merit Systems and the Quality of Public Welfare Personnel.

Dorothy Lally, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Jack H. Foster, Merit System Supervisor, Louisiana Merit System Council, Baton Rouge, La.

Group Meeting 4. (Joint Session with the American Association of Schools of Social Work.) Merit Systems and Schools of Social Work.

Louis Evans, Director of Indiana University Training Course for Social Work, Indianapolis.

Thursday, May 14—Administrative Problems in Public Assistance.

1. How Shall We Compute Assistance Grants to Meet Family and Household Requirements?

Louise Mojonier, Home Economist, Chicago Relief Administration, Chicago.

2. Differing Rules of Eligibility. (Work Projects Administration, Categories and Relief.)

George J. Clarke, Regional Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.

3. Family Responsibility and Assistance Grants.

Ruth Coleman, Director, Court Service Division, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago.

Friday, May 15—

9.00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.

Group Meeting 1.

1. The Use and Licensing of Boarding Homes for the Aged.

Rollo A. Barnes, Director, Division of Aid and Relief, Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, Boston.

2. Boarding Home Care for Dependent Adults.

Lillie H. Nairne, Director, Orleans Parish, Department of Public Welfare, New Orleans.

Group Meeting 2. (Joint Session with the National Association for Aid to Dependent Children.) Special Problems in Administering Aid to Dependent Children.

Peter Kasius, Associate Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board; Vice Chairman, National Family Security Committee, Washington, D.C.

Group Meeting 3. Citizen Participation in Public Welfare.

Genevieve Gabower, Director of Social Work, Juvenile Court, Washington, D.C.

W. S. Terry, Jr., Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

Group Meeting 4. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association.) Public Child Welfare Services and the Courts.

Frank Voelker, Judge, Sixth Judicial District Court of Louisiana, Lake Providence, La.

Margaret A. Emery, Supervisor, Lake County Mental Hygiene Clinic, Gary, Ind.

Discussants:

Edward S. Haswell, Probation Officer, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Juanita V. Perkins, State Department of Public Welfare, Denver.

Group Meeting 5. (Joint Session with the American Home Economics Association, Social Welfare and Public Health Department.) Home Economics in Relation to Other Public Welfare Services.

Vocille Pratt, Regional Office, Social Security Board, Kansas City, Mo.

Discussants:

Louise Mojonnier, Home Economist, Chicago Relief Administration, Chicago.

Ruth Jones, Director, Division of Aid to Dependent Children, Cincinnati, Ohio.

9.00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with Section IV: Social Action.)

The Work of the Farm Security Administration in the Southern Communities.

Saturday, May 16—Coördination to Meet Clients' Needs.

The Three-Agency Plan.

Selene Gifford, Director of Intake and Certification, Work Projects Administration, Washington, D.C.

Discussant:

Vance E. Swift, Director of Rural Rehabilitation, Farm Security Administration.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON THE ALIEN AND FOREIGN-BORN CITIZEN

Tuesday, May 12—(Joint Session with Section V—Public Welfare Administration.) Mass Relocation and Resettlement of Aliens.

Robert K. Lamb, Staff Director, House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Wednesday, May 13—The Treatment of Aliens in Wartime.

Earl G. Harrison, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Philadelphia.

Leonard Outhwaite, Associate Chief Minorities Section, Labor Division, War Production Board, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

Tuesday, May 12—

1. To What Extent Are Children's Institutions Now Being Used for Care of Dependent Children?

Louis E. Evans, Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of Training Course for Social Work, University of Indiana, Indianapolis.

2. What Kinds of Children Can the Institution Best Help?

Kenneth L. Messenger, Superintendent, Hillside Home for Children, Rochester, N. Y.

Wednesday, May 13—

Workshop 1. Everyday Problems Facing Cottage Parents in Children's Institutions and Knowledge and Skills Required to Meet Such Problems.

Discussion leader: Eva Burmeister, Milwaukee Orphan Asylum, Milwaukee, Wis.

Participants:

Susanne Schulze, Assistant Professor of Child Welfare, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

Lorene Putsch, Genevieve Children's Home, Shreveport, La.

Workshop 2. Adapting Buildings and Organization Structure to Progressive Programs.

Discussion leader: Harold T. Matthews, Executive Director, De Pelchin Faith Home, Houston, Texas.

Participants:

H. V. Bastin, Superintendent, Ormsby Village, Anchorage, Ky.

Meta Gruner, Director, Children's Bureau, Indianapolis Orphan Asylum, Indianapolis.

Harry L. Ginsburg, Jewish Children's Home, New Orleans.

Dorothea Gilbert, Children's Service Bureau, Shreveport, La.

Lou-Eva Longan, Superintendent, St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

Workshop 3. Function of the Case Worker in Children's Institutions.

Discussion leader: Myrtle Mason, Child Welfare Consultant on Institutions, State Department of Public Welfare, Jackson, Miss.

Participants:

Mary Bruce Roberts, Superintendent, Hillside Cottages, Atlanta, Ga.

Ruth Stevenson, Case Worker, Morrison Training School, Hoffman, N. C.

COMMITTEE ON CONSERVATION OF FAMILY FINANCES AND RESOURCES

Thursday, May 14—

Group Meeting 1. Life Insurance and Social Work.

1. Insurance Problems in Case Work.

John G. Theban, Assistant to the General Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland.

2. State Insurance Regulations.

Edwin G. Eklund, Consultant, Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau, New York City.

Group Meeting 2. Family Finance and the Small Loan.

1. Cash Credit as an Economic Tool.
William Hays Simpson, Professor of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
2. Family Problems and the Family Dollar.
A. A. Heckman, General Secretary, Family Service of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.
Frank Whitmore, M.D., Staff Psychiatrist, Family Service of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.

Group Meeting 3. The Coöperative Idea.

1. Coöperation—the Rational Choice.
Charles M. Smith, Executive Secretary, Southeastern Coöperative League, Carrollton, Ga.
2. Coöperation and the Farmer.
Gerald B. Richardson, Coöperative Analyst, Farm Security Administration, Washington, D.C.

Group Meeting 4. Separation Allowances and the Family Wage.

1. Separation Allowances.
Helen R. Jeter, Secretary, Family Security Committee, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Washington, D.C.
See Index.
2. Family Allowances for America?
F. Emerson Andrews, Director, Publication Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. See Index.

Friday, May 15—Consumer Protection in 1942.

1. The Government's Program of Consumer Protection.
Bruce Melvin, Regional Consumer Representative, Dallas, Texas.
2. Civilian Supply under War Conditions.
Roland S. Vaile, Professor of Economics and Marketing, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; temporarily with the Office of Production Management, Washington, D.C.

Discussant:

S. A. Caldwell, Professor of Economics, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Monday, May 11—Current Aspects of Migration.

1. Congressional Study of Migration.
John J. Sparkman, Congressman from Alabama; Member, House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Washington, D.C. See Index.
2. Related Problems of Employment.

William Haber, Professor of Economics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Thursday, May 14—Defense Aspects of Migration.

1. Community Problems in War Activities.

Peter Kasius, Assistant Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board; Vice Chairman, National Family Security Committee, Washington, D.C.

2. Workers in War Industries.

Ewan Clague, Associate Director, Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Friday, May 15—Legal Aspects of Migration.

1. The Supreme Court and the "Anti-Oakie Act."

Leonard W. Mayo, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland. See Index.

2. Settlement Laws and State Legislation.

Glenn Jackson, Executive Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.

COMMITTEE ON LAW AND SOCIAL WORK

Tuesday, May 12—(Joint Session with Section V: Public Welfare Administration). The Confidential Relationship in Social Work Administration.

Pauline Miller, Consultant on General Social Work Practices, Division of Standards and Procedures, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Discussion leader: A. Delafield Smith, Assistant General Counsel, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Thursday, May 14—Protecting the Civil Rights of Persons in Military Service and Their Dependents.

Wood Brown, Attorney, New Orleans.

Discussion leader: Donald Wilson, Supervisor of Policies and Procedures, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

Friday, May 15—Making Effective Use of Legal Agencies in Social Case Work.

1. A Community Venture toward Case Cooperation.

Flora M. Miller, Supervisor, Child Placing Division, Monroe County Department of Public Welfare, Rochester, N. Y.

2. Adapting Legal Aid Service to Social Work Needs.

Frances Craighead Dwyer, Assistant Counsel, Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Atlanta, Ga.

COMMITTEE ON THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Monday, May 11—The Physically Handicapped in the War and Postwar Period.

Leonard Outhwaite, Associate Chief, Minorities Section, Labor Division, War Production Board, Washington, D.C. See Index.

Discussion leader: John N. Smith, Jr., Director, Institute for Crippled and Disabled, New York City.

Tuesday, May 12—What Are the Ideal Community Resources for Meeting the Needs of the Physically Handicapped?

Metta Bean, Director of Social Service, Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association, Milwaukee, Wis.

Discussion leader: Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Monday, May 11—

1. Case Work with the Juvenile Offender.

Genevieve Gabower, Director of Social Work, Juvenile Court, Washington, D.C.

2. Case Work with Women and Girl Offenders.

E. Mebane Hunt, Executive Secretary, Women's Prison Association of New York, New York City.

3. Case Work with the Adult Offender.

David Dressler, Executive Director, New York State Division of Parole, Albany, N. Y. See Index.

Tuesday, May 12—(Joint Session with the National Probation Association).

1. Youth in the Juvenile Court.

Alice Scott Nutt, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

2. A Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

Lowell J. Carr, Director, Child Guidance Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

3. Treatment of the Young Offender in England.

Margery Frey, J. P., London, England.

APPENDIX B: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1942

OFFICERS

President: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City
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Third Vice President: Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia
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Ex officio: Shelby M. Harrison, President; Wilfred S. Reynolds, First Vice President; Michael M. Davis, Second Vice President; Betsey Libbey, Third Vice President; Jane M. Hoey, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1942:* Helen Cody Baker, Chicago; Leah Feder, Boston; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Right Rev. Msgr. Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J. *Term expiring 1943:* Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Denver. *Term expiring 1944:* Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Evelyn K. Davis, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D.C.; Gertrude, Wilson, Pittsburgh

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Rev. A. T. Jamison, Greenwood, S. C., Chairman. E. J. Keyes, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Edith G. Ross, New Orleans

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Vice Chairman: Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1942: David C. Adie, Albany, N. Y.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Taylor, Valhalla, N. Y.; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943:* Charles H. Alspach, Needham, Mass.; Robert W. Beasley, Honolulu, Hawaii; William Haber, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Florence L. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle, Wash. *Term expiring 1944:* Fay L. Bentley, Washington, D.C.; Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Coleman, Chicago; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York City; Eunice Minton, Jacksonville, Fla.

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COMMITTEE ON THE ALIEN AND FOREIGN-BORN CITIZEN

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Chairman: Herschel Alt, Hawthorne, N. Y.

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Maude T. Barrett, Baton Rouge, La.; Caroline Bedford, Jefferson

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Major Gilbert S. Decker, Atlanta, Ga.; Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City; Marie Hoffman, Jackson, Miss.; F. D. Hopkins, New York City; Louis Hosch, Chicago; Robert K. Lamb, Washington, D.C.; Edith Lowry, New York City; Bertha McCall, New York City; Homer Morganthaler, Columbus, Ohio; Warren C. Ogden, New Orleans; Philip E. Ryan, Washington, D.C.; Philip Schafer, New York City; Eldridge Sibley, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON LAW AND SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: Emery A. Brownell, Rochester, N. Y.

Vice Chairman: A. Delafield Smith, Washington, D.C.

Marion Yingling Frost, Richmond, Va.; Ralph Fuchs, St. Louis; E. Marguerite Gane, Buffalo, N. Y.; Silas A. Harris, Columbus, Ohio; Joel Hunter, Chicago; Joseph H. Louchheim, Pittsburgh; Alice Scott Nutt, Washington, D.C.; Sarah B. Schaar, Chicago; Eugene Thorpe, New Orleans

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Vice Chairman: Edward Hochhauser, New York City

Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Stanley P. Davies, New York City; Elizabeth G. Gardiner, New York City; Harry H. Howett, Elyria, Ohio; Marcus Kenner, New York City; John A. Kratz, Washington, D.C.; Lawrence J. Linck, Evanston, Ill.; Louise McGuire, Washington, D.C.; MacEnnis Moore, New York City; Peter J. Salmon, Brooklyn, N. Y.; John N. Smith, Jr., New York City; Marjorie Taylor, Milwaukee; Betty C. Wright, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Chairman: Frederick Moran, Albany, N. Y.

Vice Chairman: David Dressler, New York City

Frank T. Flynn, Notre Dame, Ind.; Leonard F. Horan, Albany, N. Y.; Ray L. Huff, Lorton, Va.; E. Mebane Hunt, New York City; Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Rosalie Supplee, Washington, D.C.; Herbert D. Williams, Orange County, N. Y.

APPENDIX C: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1943

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First Vice President: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City
Second Vice President: Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans
Third Vice President: Colonel Archibald Young, Pasadena, Calif.
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City
General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Fred K. Hoehler, President; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Bryan J. McEntegart, First Vice President; Elizabeth Wisner, Second Vice President; Col. Archibald Young, Third Vice President; Shelby M. Harrison, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1943:* Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Denver. *Term expiring 1944:* Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Evelyn K. Davis, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D.C.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1945:* Charles J. Birt, Minneapolis; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; George L. Warren, New York City

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Rose J. McHugh, Washington, D.C., Chairman. *Term expiring 1943:* Frankie V. Adams, Atlanta, Ga.; Mary E. Austin, Washington,

D.C.; Frederick I. Daniels, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Sophie Hardy, San Francisco; Rose J. McHugh, Washington, D.C.; C. F. McNeil, Omaha, Nebr.; Right Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1944*: Paul T. Beisser, St. Louis; Sara A. Brown, Pullman, Wash.; Evelyn P. Johnson, Milwaukee; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; Rose Porter, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mary C. Raymond, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1945*: L. M. Bristol, Gainesville, Fla.; Florence R. Day, Cleveland; Edgar M. Gerlach, Danbury, Conn.; Frank Hertel, Minneapolis; Louis E. Hosch, Chicago; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Margaret Steel Moss, Harrisburg, Pa.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago, Chairman; Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1943*: Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Chester Bowles, Essex, Conn. *Term expiring 1944*: H. M. Cassidy, Berkeley, Calif.; Mary L. Gibbons, New York City. *Term expiring 1945*: Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Kenneth W. Miller, Springfield, Ill. *Section Chairmen*: Charlotte Towle, Chicago; Charles E. Hendry, New York City; Arthur Dunham, Detroit; William Hodson, New York City; Robert K. Lamb, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

John J. Butler, St. Louis, Chairman. F. Emerson Andrews, New York City; Lucille Batson, Indianapolis.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y., Chairman. *Term expiring 1943*: C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Charles I. Schottland, Washington, D.C.; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas. *Term expiring 1944*: Douglas Falconer, New York City; Rev. A. T. Jamison, Greenwood, S. C.; Fred R. Johnson, Detroit, Mich.; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. Walter McGuinn, Boston; Merle E. MacMahon, Dayton, Ohio; Richard M. Neustadt, San Francisco. *Term expiring 1945*: Vilona P. Cutler, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Agnes S. Donaldson, Lincoln, Nebr.; Lynn D. Mowat, Los Angeles; Randel Shake, Indianapolis; Jean Sinnock, Denver; Herbert L. Willett, Jr., Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Charlotte Towle, Chicago

Vice Chairman: Lucille N. Austin, New York City

Term expiring 1943: Marcella Farrar, Cleveland; Alta C. Hoover, San Francisco; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Mary E. Lucas, New York City; Louise Silbert, Boston. *Term expiring 1944:* Grace A. Browning, Chicago; Elizabeth McCord de Schweinitz, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth L. Porter, New Orleans; Helaine A. Todd, Washington, D.C.; Anna Budd Ware, Cincinnati. *Term expiring 1945:* Aleta Brownlee, San Francisco; Ruth Gartland, Pittsburgh; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Florence Hollis, New York City; Ella Wein-further Reed, Chicago

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Charles E. Hendry, New York City

Vice Chairman: Philip Schiff, New Orleans

Term expiring 1943: Harrison S. Elliott, New York City; Charles E. Hendry, New York City; Mary Ellen Hubbard, Philadelphia; Annie Clo Watson, San Francisco; Margaret Williamson, New York City. *Term expiring 1944:* Dorothy I. Cline, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Margaret Day, New York City; Neva R. Deardorff, New York City; John C. Smith, Jr., Boston; Harleigh Trecker, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1945:* Ray Johns, Chicago; Alma Elizabeth Johnston, Richmond, Va.; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City, Helen Rowe, Washington, D.C.; Dorothea Spellman, Pittsburgh

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Arthur Dunham, Detroit, Mich.

Vice Chairman: Margaret Yates, Fort Worth, Texas

Term expiring 1943: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City; Arthur Dunham, Detroit, Mich.; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Josephine Strode, Ithaca, N. Y.; Martha Wood, Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1944:* Helen M. Alvord, Greenwich, Conn.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Earl N. Parker, New York City. *Term expiring 1945:* James T. Brunot, Washington, D.C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Philip E. Ryan, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck, New York City

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Robert K. Lamb, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1943: Mary Anderson, Washington, D.C.; Roger N. Baldwin, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago. *Term expiring 1944:* John A. Fitch, New York City; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; T. Arnold Hill, New York City; Sidney Hollander, Baltimore; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago. *Term expiring 1945:* Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.;

Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland; Josephine Roche, Denver; J. Raymond Walsh, Williamstown, Mass.

SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: William Hodson, New York City

Vice Chairman: Benjamin Glassberg, Milwaukee

Term expiring 1943: Charles H. Alspach, Needham, Mass.; Robert W. Beasley, Honolulu, Hawaii; William Haber, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Florence L. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle, Wash. *Term expiring 1944:* Fay L. Bentley, Washington, D.C.; Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Coleman, Chicago; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York City; Eunice Minton, Jacksonville, Fla. *Term expiring 1945:* Robert E. Bondy, Washington, D.C.; William W. Burke, St. Louis; E. R. Goudy, Portland, Ore.; Martha E. Phillips, Chicago; Louis Towley, St. Paul, Minn.

APPENDIX D: BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE MINUTES

Thursday, May 14, 4:00 P.M.—Annual Business Meeting

A quorum being present the President, Mr. Harrison, called the meeting to order. The attendance was about two hundred.

In the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. Mandel, the Assistant Treasurer, Mr. Knight, read the Treasurer's report, which had been approved by the Treasurer in advance of the meeting:

The Treasurer's report at this time in the fiscal year of the Conference is at best a progress report which shows the financial condition of the Conference at the end of the first four months of the year's business but which cannot show the results from the Annual Meeting.

1. The total cash income, including the cash balance as of January 1, 1942, was \$25,885.14. The total expenditures at the end of this period were \$20,606.07, leaving a cash balance in the bank of \$5,279.07. However, there is still a balance of \$3,032.66 due on the 1941 *Proceedings* bill. All other bills are paid to date.

2. Considering only 1942 operations as compared with the budget adopted for this fiscal year we have received \$19,602.22 of the estimated income for the year of \$44,500.00 in the operating account. We have expended in the same account \$14,490.86 of the estimated \$42,830.00 for the entire fiscal year.

3. No statement can be made at this time as to the Annual Meeting account beyond the fact that every effort is being made to keep our expenditures within the probable income.

4. The recapitulation and forecast for the balance of the year indicates that if the estimated income is realized we should close the year with a balance of \$1,700.00. However, the budget will have to be adjusted to provide a larger item for the cost of the 1942 *Proceedings* than was originally estimated. When the bill for the 1941 *Proceedings* was received early in March we found that the cost of the 1941 volume had exceeded our estimate by approximately \$1,000.00 due to the fact that it was fifty pages longer than the preceding volume and due to the rising cost of production. The necessary adjustments in the budget will be made for presentation to the Executive Committee at its fall meeting when we will know the financial results of the Annual Meeting and can make a closer approximation of the probable cost of the 1942 volume.

Six detailed statements are submitted herewith: (1) a recapitulation and forecast for all financial affairs of the Conference for the year 1942; (2) all cash income and expenditures in the operating account for the period January 1 to April 30, 1942; (3) the 1942 operating budget, both income and expenditures, showing the status as of April 30, namely, the estimates adopted as of January 1, the actual income and expenditures for the first four months of the year, and the estimated income and expenditures for the balance of the year; (4) all cash income and expenditures in the Annual Meeting account for the period January 1 to April 30, 1942; (5) a statement similar to No. 3 above for the Annual Meeting account; (6) the status of membership as of April 30, 1942.

The Conference takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the loyal support of the membership and to request its continuance.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL
Treasurer

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

BUSINESS SESSIONS

627.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK RECAPITULATION AND FORECAST

Income

Operating Account

Receipts and balance, January 1 to April 30, 1942.....	\$25,663.70
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 31, 1942.....	24,897.78
Total actual and estimated income.....	\$50,561.48

Annual Meeting Account

Receipts, January 1 to April 30, 1942.....	\$ 251.44
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 31, 1942.....	8,348.56
Total actual and estimated income.....	\$ 8,600.00
Grand Total.....	\$59,161.48

Expenditures

Operating Account

Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1942.....	\$18,153.51
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 31, 1942.....	28,339.14
Total actual and estimated expenditures.....	\$46,492.65

Annual Meeting Account

Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1942.....	\$ 2,452.56
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 31, 1942.....	5,447.44
Total actual and estimated expenditures.....	\$ 7,900.00
Grand Total.....	\$54,392.65
Balance, 1941 <i>Proceedings</i> bill.....	3,032.66
Total	\$57,425.31
Estimated surplus.....	\$ 1,736.17

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Operating Account

January 1-April 25, 1942

Operating balance, January 1		\$6,031.48
Receipts, budget:		
Memberships	\$18,578.15	
Sales of <i>Bulletins</i>	6.75	
Sales of <i>Proceedings</i> .....	. . .
Refunds	1,013.87	
Miscellaneous	3.45	
	<hr/>	
Total receipts, operating account	\$19,602.22	
Total receipts, Annual Meeting account	251.44	
	<hr/>	
Total receipts		\$19,853.66
		<hr/>
Total receipts and balance		\$25,885.14
Expenditures, budget:		
Salaries	\$ 7,854.91	
Travel	1,789.70	
Printing	2,693.05	
Postage	773.01	
Supplies	139.70	
Telephone and telegraph	149.29	
Rent	400.00	
Equipment and repairs	450.47	
Miscellaneous	240.73	
	<hr/>	
Total expenditures, operating account	\$14,490.86	
Total expenditures, Annual Meeting account	2,452.56	
1941 <i>Proceedings</i> bill	3,662.65	
	<hr/>	
Total expenditures		\$20,606.07
		<hr/>
Balance		\$ 5,279.07
Functional distribution of expenditures:		
General administration	\$ 6,421.38	
Membership promotion .....	. . .
Program Committee	359.93	
<i>Proceedings</i> .....	. . .
<i>Bulletin</i>	1,982.49	
Office operation	5,486.33	
Other	240.73	
	<hr/>	
Total budget distribution		\$14,490.86

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

Operating Account

January 1-April 30, 1942

(Only 1942 Income, Expenditures, and Estimated Balance Included)

	<i>Budget 1942</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures January 1- April 30, 1942</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Memberships.....	\$40,000.00	\$18,578.15	\$21,421.85
Attendance fees.....	2,000.00	. . .	2,000.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,500.00	1,024.07	1,475.93
Total.....	\$44,500.00	\$19,602.22	\$24,897.78
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$20,530.00	\$ 7,854.91	\$12,675.09
Travel.....	4,800.00	1,789.70	3,010.30
Printing.....	11,500.00	2,693.05	8,806.95
Postage.....	2,200.00	773.01	1,426.99
Supplies.....	600.00	139.70	460.30
Telephone and telegraph.....	400.00	149.29	250.71
Rent.....	1,200.00	400.00	800.00
Equipment and repairs.....	600.00	450.47	149.53
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00	240.73	759.27
Total.....	\$42,830.00	\$14,490.86	\$28,339.14
General administration.....	\$15,300.00	\$ 6,421.38	\$ 8,878.62
Membership promotion.....	1,000.00	. . .	1,000.00
Program Committee.....	1,500.00	359.93	1,140.07
Proceedings.....	6,200.00	. . .	6,200.00
Bulletin.....	4,650.00	1,982.49	2,667.51
Office operation.....	12,680.00	5,486.33	7,193.67
Other.....	1,500.00	240.73	1,259.27
Total.....	\$42,830.00	\$14,490.86	\$28,339.14

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Annual Meeting Account

January 1-April 25, 1942

Operating balance, January 1		\$1,662.59
Receipts, budget:		
Attendance fees .....	...
Booths .....	...
Printing .....	...
Miscellaneous	\$ 251.44	
Total receipts		\$ 251.44
Transferred from Operating Account		538.53
Total receipts, balance and transfer		\$2,452.56
Expenditures, budget:		
Salaries	\$ 40.00	
Travel	1,426.91	
Printing	610.90	
Postage	69.35	
Supplies .....	...
Telephone and telegraph	5.40	
Miscellaneous	300.00	
Total expenditures		\$2,452.56
Balance .....		...
Functional distribution of expenditures:		
General administration	\$1,337.01	
Publicity and press service	815.55	
Booths .....	...
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i> .....	...
Other	300.00	
Total		\$2,452.56

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

Annual Meeting Account

January 1-April 30, 1942

(Only 1942 Income, Expenditures, and Estimated Balance Included)

	<i>Budget 1942</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures January 1- April 30, 1942</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Attendance fees.....	\$5,000.00	. . .	\$5,000.00
Booths.....	1,900.00	. . .	1,900.00
Printing.....	1,200.00	. . .	1,200.00
Miscellaneous.....	500.00	\$251.44	248.56
Total.....	\$8,600.00	\$251.44	\$8,348.56
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$ 850.00	\$ 40.00	\$ 810.00
Travel.....	1,900.00	1,426.91	473.09
Printing.....	2,750.00	610.90	2,139.10
Postage.....	200.00	69.35	130.65
Supplies and equipment.....	1,100.00	. . .	1,100.00
Telephone and telegraph.....	100.00	5.40	94.60
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00	300.00	700.00
Total.....	\$7,900.00	\$2,452.56	\$5,447.44
General administration.....	\$2,350.00	\$1,337.01	\$1,012.99
Publicity and press service.....	2,000.00	815.55	1,184.45
Booths.....	850.00	. . .	850.00
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i>	1,700.00	. . .	1,700.00
Other.....	1,000.00	300.00	700.00
Total.....	\$7,900.00	\$2,452.56	\$5,447.44

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
STATUS OF MEMBERSHIP

April 30, 1942

<i>Members</i>	<i>\$3.00</i>	<i>\$5.00</i>	<i>\$10.00</i>	<i>\$25.00</i>	<i>Total</i>
Active:					
First quarter	170	330	222	171	893
Second quarter	580	1,093	196	110	1,979
Third quarter	29	105	41	30	205
Fourth quarter	53	125	139	91	408
Total	832	1,653	598	402	3,485
Delinquent:					
First quarter	60	73	11	4	148
Second quarter	980	1,223	76	24	2,303
Fourth quarter	7	9	2	2	20
Total	1,047	1,305	89	30	2,471
Grand Total	1,879	2,958	687	432	5,956
New:					
First quarter	33	30	5	2	70
Second quarter	63	104	5	1	173

The report of the Committee on Nominations was called for and in the absence of the chairman, George W. Rabinoff, Malcolm Nichols, of Boston, a member of the committee, presented the report. He called attention informally to the fact that this was the first report under the new nominating procedures established by action of the Conference a year ago in Atlantic City and that the Committee on Nominations now presents nominations for all the sections as well as for the officers and the Executive Committee of the Conference. He reported the nominations for officers and Executive Committee of the Conference and for chairmen and vice chairmen of the five sections and for the Committee on Nominations. The nominations for section committee members were posted on the bulletin board and published in the July *Bulletin*. The committee report is as follows:

The Committee on Nominations respectfully submits the following nominations for office in the National Conference of Social Work for 1944:

President: Elizabeth Wisner, Director, School of Social Work, Tulane Uni-

versity, New Orleans; *First Vice President*: Stanley P. Davies, Executive Director, Community Service Society of New York, New York City; *Second Vice President*: Louise Cottrell, Staff Assistant, Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, Portland, Oreg.; *Third Vice President*: the Rev. A. T. Jamison, Superintendent, Connie Maxwell Orphanage, Greenwood, S.C.

Members of the Executive Committee: Seven to be elected. David C. Adie, Commissioner, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N.Y.; Mildred Arnold, Director, Children's Division, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis; the Rt. Rev. Robert P. Barry, Director, Catholic Charitable Bureau, Boston; Harry M. Carey, Executive Director, Greater Boston Community Fund, Boston; Lucy Carner, Secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago; Elizabeth Cosgrove, Examiner in Charge, Public Social Services Unit Examining Division, United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C.; Audrey M. Hayden, Director, Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Chicago; Ralph G. Hurlin, Director, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; John Ihlder, Executive Officer, Alley Dwelling Authority for District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.; Leonard W. Mayo, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Elizabeth Nairn, Director, Division of Social Service, Vanderbilt University Hospital, Nashville, Tenn.; Florence Sytz, member of the faculty, Tulane University School of Social Work, New Orleans; Frances Taussig, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Association, New York City; Herbert D. Williams, Superintendent, New York State Training School for Boys, State School, Orange County, N.Y.

Members of the Committee on Nominations: Seven to be elected. Ralph C. Bennett, General Secretary, Social Service Bureau, Lansing, Mich.; Margery Carpenter, Executive Secretary, Department of Public Charities, Berkeley, Calif.; Abigail Curlee, Executive Secretary, Austin Travis County Welfare Department, Austin, Texas; Samuel Gerson, Executive Director, Jewish Federation of St. Louis; Frank Z. Glick, Director, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.; Beatrice P. Hodge, Director, Social Service Department, Touro Infirmary, New Orleans; Anna E. King, Dean, Fordham University School of Social Service, New York City; Robert F. Nelson, General Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Indianapolis; C. C. Ridge, Executive Secretary, Grand Rapids Community Chest and Council, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Bernice E. Scroggie, Supervisor, Division for Children, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Wash.; Ruth Smalley, Associate Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh; Mabel Uzzell, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City; Anna D. Ward, Executive Secretary, Baltimore Council of Social Agencies; Edith I. Yeomans, Assistant Director, Union Settlement, Hartford, Conn.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. RABINOFF

Chairman, Committee on Nominations

No action by the meeting is required since under the Constitution

further nominations can be made by petition by any group of twenty-five members of the Conference and filed in the office prior to December 30, 1942.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by Tom Wintersteen, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, as follows:

The Time and Place Committee has two responsibilities each year at the time of the Annual Meeting. First, we receive invitations for the meeting two years hence; and second, from among the invitations received a year before we recommend one for acceptance by the Conference.

Under the plan of rotation and movement of the Conference over the country, the Conference is scheduled to return to the Atlantic seaboard states in 1944. We are happy to announce that acceptable invitations have been received from Boston and Atlantic City for the 1944 Annual Meeting. During the coming year the terms of these invitations will be thoroughly explored and the convention facilities of the cities inspected, the final decision regarding 1944 being made at the time of the next Annual Meeting.

We were especially gratified to receive a third invitation for 1944. The city of Grand Rapids entertained the Conference in 1940, and representatives of that city, including public officials, social workers, and business interests, have united to invite our return in 1944. The plan of rotation of Conference meetings, previously referred to, makes acceptance of the Grand Rapids invitation impossible for 1944, but I am sure we are all deeply appreciative, and note with pride that they want us to return. Grand Rapids will be notified that their invitation has been received with appreciation, and that in an appropriate year the Conference will reopen their invitation.

As the committee faced the necessity for choosing one among the three invitations before us for 1943, we had in mind the unanswered questions about the future which are probably present in the minds of many Conference members at this moment. Many changes in the pattern and standard of life in our country have occurred since December 7. More will occur as the war goes on. All our private decisions in these days must be considered tentative and dependent upon the measures required for the winning of the war. The committee took cognizance of the fact that the Executive Committee of the Conference has full power and authority to make whatever adjustment in plans or procedure the developments of the next months may necessitate. We proceeded, as all of us must, to the business in hand, knowing that later events may require drastic revision of any plan we can now prepare.

Last year the Conference was pleased to receive invitations for 1943 from four cities, one of which was later withdrawn. Representatives of the Time and Place Committee visited the cities of Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, and Toronto, Canada. In all three we found a cordial welcome for all the Conference membership from business and hotel interests, officials, and social work leaders. It was by no means easy to choose. While noting the fine spirit and helpful coöperation of our friends in the other two cities, the Time and Place Committee recommends to the Conference that its 1943 Annual Meeting be held in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, during the period May 20 to 29, 1943.

The Executive Committee has considered this recommendation and adds its approval.

Respectfully submitted,

T. E. WINTERSTEEN

Chairman, Committee on Time and Place

After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted unanimously to approve the report.

The question was raised from the floor as to what would be the procedure in the Conference if under an emergency situation that might ensue during the coming year it became necessary to postpone or cancel the Annual Meeting in 1943. The chairman replied that under the Constitution the Executive Committee has complete power to make any changes necessary because of emergency. A statement was made from the floor expressing the opinion that every effort should be made to hold the Annual Meeting of 1943 because of its importance, both to the home front and the war effort.

There being no further business, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, May 15, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee of Tellers was called for and presented as follows, these being the elected officers and members of the Executive Committee:

On behalf of the Committee of Tellers appointed by you and consisting of Miss Mae Habenicht, Des Moines; Howard Hush, Atlanta; Norman F. Finch, Toledo; and myself, I wish to report the election of the following officers and committee members as the result of the balloting concluded yesterday.

President: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; *First Vice President:* Rt. Rev. Msgr. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City; *Second Vice President:* Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans; *Third Vice President:* Colonel Archibald B. Young, Pasadena, Calif.

The candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Charles J. Birt, Minneapolis; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; George L. Warren, New York City.

A detailed statement indicating the number of votes cast for each person listed on the ballot, as well as the write-in candidates, has been submitted to Howard R. Knight, General Secretary of the Conference, and will be filed with other Conference records so that it will be available in case reference to it is desirable.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. REIMERS

Chairman, Committee on Tellers

The results of the section elections are printed in the July, 1942, *Bulletin* and will be found in the business organization of the Conference—Appendix C—printed in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, the new President, was called to the platform and spoke briefly.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Saturday, May 16, 11:00 A.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was called for and in the absence of the Chairman, Rev. A. T. Jamison, it was presented by a member of the committee, Mrs. Edith Grubb Ross. The report is as follows:

Your Committee on Resolutions would in this year of bewilderment and widespread anxiety remind members of the Conference of the sense of gratitude all should feel in view of the fine attendance and beautiful harmony that have characterized our session. As always there have been difficulties and uncertainties to meet those who have worked for the planning of the Conference, but all these troubles have resolved themselves. It is the general feeling that this Conference will be held in memory as one of the most satisfactory in all the years.

We record our appreciation of the very wise and effective leadership during the year of our President, Shelby M. Harrison, who has taken the deepest personal interest in all details. We would express our grateful recognition of the successful accomplishments of the Program Committee, led by Secretary Howard R. Knight. It seems that no details have escaped them. The members of the staff and the volunteer service of members of the committee merit grateful acknowledgment from members of the Conference. The attendance from the Southeast and Southwest has given evidence of deep appreciation of the opportunity to have the Conference in this section for 1942.

Mention is particularly made of the following local friends who are recognized as having coöperated, both as individuals and by groups. We would thank the city of New Orleans for the many courtesies extended to the Conference, and especially for the use of the Municipal Auditorium. Special indebtedness is due General Allison Owen, Chairman of the Parkway Commission, and to Mr. Steger, Superintendent of the Parkway Commission, for the beautiful floral decorations at the Auditorium.

To the Tourist and Convention Bureau and its staff for splendid coöperation in many ways.

To William G. Zetzmam for his coöperation in the early arrangements and for his placing at the disposal of the Conference the Fresh-up Room at his factory.

To the New Orleans Chapter of the American Red Cross for equipping and staffing the first aid room at Conference headquarters.

To the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts for their coöperation.

To the hotels of New Orleans for their coöperation in placing at our disposal the use of their public rooms for headquarters services and meetings.

To the newspapers and the radio stations for their fair and understanding reports of the Conference affairs.

To Emeric Kurtagh, the headworker of Kingsley House, for the musical program he has contributed each evening at the General Sessions.

To the Community Chest, the Council of Social Agencies, and all our social work friends who have helped so much in making our stay in New Orleans both profitable and pleasant.

Respectfully submitted,

REV. A. T. JAMISON

Chairman, Committee on Resolutions

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted unanimously to approve the report.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 3,227.

There being no further business, the President adjourned the Conference to reassemble in Cleveland, Ohio, May 23 to 29, 1943.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT

General Secretary

APPENDIX E: CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members, to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; and (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships, or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary; and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, the President of the preceding year,

and the Treasurer ex officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex officio chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the Annual Meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5.00; without the *Proceedings*, \$3.00; for sustaining members, \$10.00; for institutional members, \$25.00 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25.00 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25.00 or

over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex officio of both the Executive and the Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such banks as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the Annual Meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of *Proceedings*, the periodical *Bulletin*, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

III. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting, and such proposi-

tion must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

IV. COMMITTEES

1. *Committee on Nominations.*—There shall be a Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven elected each year for terms of three years. The members of the Committee on Nominations shall be nominated by the Committee on Nominations and elected by the official ballot submitted by mail to all members of record of the Conference as hereinafter provided. The President of the Conference shall within thirty days after the Annual Meeting appoint the chairman of the Committee on Nominations from members serving their third year.

In order to establish the Committee on Nominations, the Executive Committee at its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1941 shall elect the Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven to serve terms of one year, seven to serve terms of two years, and seven to serve terms of three years. At its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1942, the Executive Committee shall elect seven members for terms of three years in place of the one-year members whose terms of office will have expired as provided above.

2. *Committee on Program.*—There shall be a Committee on Program which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various section, special topic, and associate group committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to section and special topic committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the section and special topic committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the conference topic committees. Where such commitments are made for section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the section involved or with its hearty coöperation and consent, and for not more than one third of the number of sessions allowed at each Annual Meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of associate groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish, either upon its own initiation or upon request, such committees on special topics as may be desirable. When establishing such committees on special topics, the Committee on Program shall also determine definitely the term of service of the committee on a special topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any Annual Meeting, and so forth as may be desirable.

3. *Committee on Time and Place.*—There shall be a Committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years, seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each Annual Meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such Annual Meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and

Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

4. *Committee on Resolutions.*—A Committee on Resolutions of three members shall be appointed by the President within three months after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

V. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under sections, of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the Annual Meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the Annual Meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One third of the members of the section committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or section committee members should, so far as possible, be members of the Conference or on the staffs or boards of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one section committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on section committees.

d) Each other section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or, if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the Annual Meeting.

e) Each section shall have power to arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee.

f) Each section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice chairman to be elected by the same method as the

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Their chairman may be re-elected once. The section committee shall each year elect a section secretary.

g) Vacancies in the section committee shall be filled at the Annual Meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the section committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all section committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

VI. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the Annual Meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

VII. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

VIII. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the Annual Meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) that he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) that he was a member in good standing at the last preceding Annual Meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of nonpayment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any Annual Meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

IX. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session, fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

X. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of sections shall preside at the meetings of their sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

XI. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the Annual Meeting, except official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

XII. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the Annual Meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

XIII. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Committee on Nominations shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, and Third Vice President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body. It shall also have the function of nominating one or more persons for the offices of chairman and vice chairman and at least twice as many persons as are to be elected for the committee of each constitutional section of the Conference. It shall further have the function of nominating at least twice as many persons as there are vacancies in the Committee on Nominations.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Committee on Nominations by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Committee on Nominations shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. It shall use such other means of soliciting an expression

of opinion from Conference members relative to proposed nominations as it deems feasible. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the Annual Meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the Annual Meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1, preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

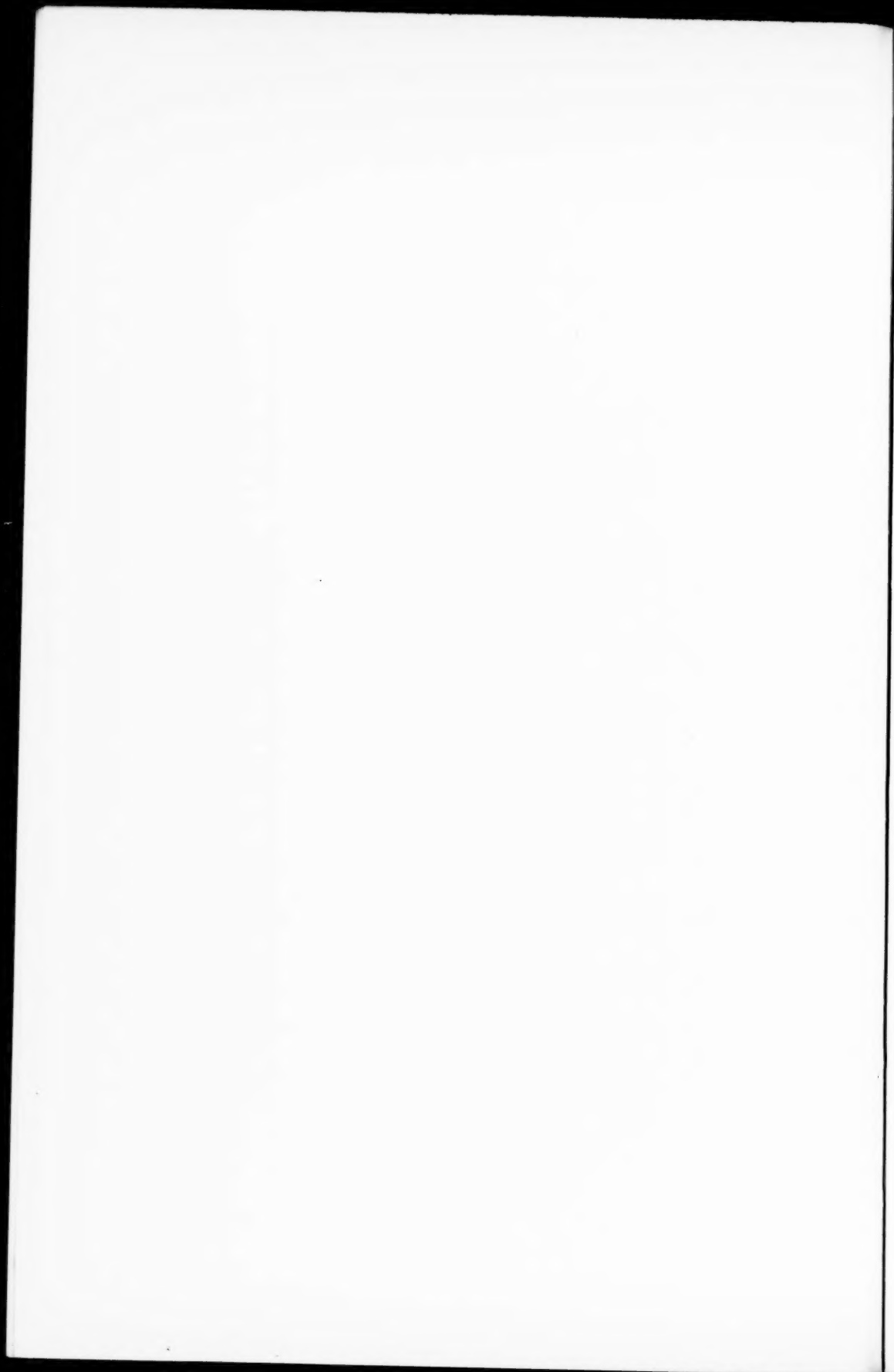
6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in Section 7 of By-Law XIII. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said Section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by a majority of the ballots cast.

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